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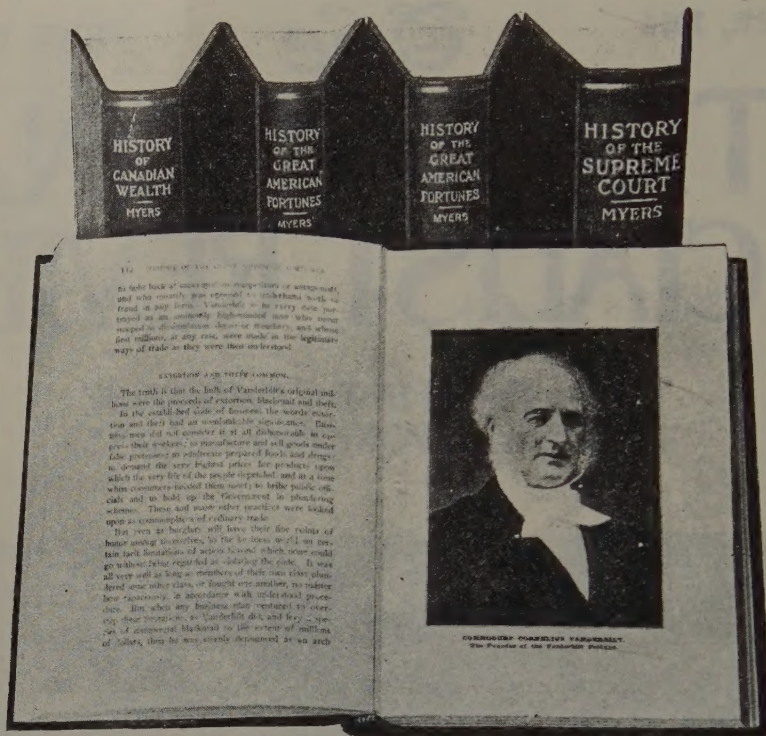


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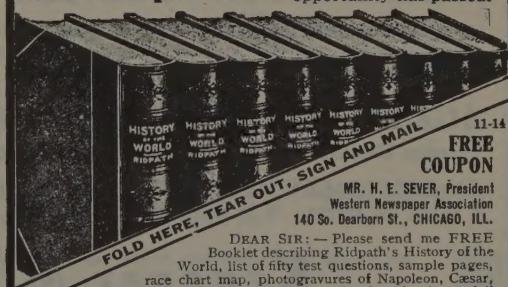
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November

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The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

Vol. XV

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 5

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VOL. XV

NOVEMBER, 1914

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MALE HELP WANTED?

The Job War in Chicago

BY CHARLES ASHLEIGH

HOISTING oneself by one's own boot-straps is supposed to be the acme of impossibility, but that seems to be precisely what the capitalist system is doing at present. In its efforts to continually enlarge and to intensify its operations it is undermining its own existence by creating the elements which shall contribute to its downfall. That inevitable adjunct to rampant capitalism—the army of the unemployed—is steadily on the increase, and, just

now, with the partial cessation of industry caused by the European blood struggle for markets, the problem is becoming still more acute.

It is interesting to mark how the attendant evils of the industrial system are extending all over the country. Last year, unemployed riots were not confined to the manufacturing East, but also broke out in San Francisco and other points on the Pacific coast. The boasted glory of the busy Middle West is sullied by the

appalling numbers of workless ones in its hub, Chicago.

The *Chicago Tribune*, which is as conservative a journal as could be found, some time ago estimated the number of unemployed in Chicago as over 100,000 and intimated that they were increasing. According to trade union authorities, over 60,000 union men are out of work. These figures, however, certainly fall far short of the total. The United Charities report that they assisted 21,000 families in 1913, as against only 10,000 in 1910, and they maintain that the number is steadily ascending. It should be remembered that only a very small proportion of cases are reported to the charitable institutions and that a still smaller number receive aid.

Every day cases are cited that prove the depths of poverty and suffering in which large numbers of workers and their families are plunged. In the sumptuous automobile of a member of Chicago's gilded minority was found a baby, thin and under-nourished, wrapped in a dirty gray rag, which was deposited in the vehicle while the owner was regaling himself in a cafe. A man was recently sentenced to six months in the Bridewell for stealing food; he had been out of work for several weeks and dependent upon him were his wife and two babies, one of them only one month old. The home of these free citizens of prosperous America consisted of a one-room, windowless shack, with leaky roof, and sanitary conveniences remarkable only by their absence. The conscience of our "altruistic" civilization was satisfied by the railroad-ing of the unfortunate husband. Here the function of government ended and the succoring of the wife and children was left to individual charity, which in this case was attracted by the publicity the incident received. However, there is no complaint here implied; what have the workers ever to hope for from the agents of their industrial task-masters?

The principal question that agitates the mind of the unemployed, homeless worker,—where to sleep,—is becoming more pressing with the advent of the cold weather. Police stations are already full to overflowing, as are also the night shelters. To complicate matters, orders

were issued recently by the police department for the dispersal of night loiterers. The minions of the law sallied forth in force on October 6th and routed out scores of unfortunates who were trying to snatch some broken sleep in freight or lumber yards, vacant lots, empty buildings and wharves. A force of police, with drawn clubs, drove a number of men at bay on the river front, after awakening them by the customary brutal methods. One or two among them had sufficient manhood to resent this treatment and offered some resistance to their persecutors. The police, revolvers and clubs in hand, attacked the defenseless band, rounded them up, and carried off some thirty to jail. The papers next day exploded with indignation, stigmatizing the offenders as "wharf rats," while, on the next page, they were making fervent appeals to "Good Fellows" to come to the aid of this same class.

The large emigrant population of Chicago are especial sufferers. The shutting down,—or partial stopping of production,—of great industrial concerns employing hosts of foreign unskilled laborers has brought untold misery into the Ghetto, Little Italy and other foreign quarters. A case that came to my notice on October 5th is illustrative of this. Mrs. Annie Jarosz a Polish widow, was dependent upon work received from her more fortunate neighbors for her sustenance and that of her baby and two-year-old child. When the general financial tightening came about no jobs were forthcoming. Within a few days the baby was dead of starvation and the widow and her remaining child have been ejected for non-payment of rent. One might waste oceans of "sob-stuff" in describing these incidents, but we will leave that to our well-paid lady journalists of the daily papers; we are not trying to stir the hearts of the affluent, but to induce the worker to at last determine to take the remedying of these conditions into his own hands.

Besides the permanent industrial population of Chicago, casual workers are pouring daily into the town. Every freight train and passenger has its complement of jobless ones. These add to the number of job seekers and still further intensify the terribly keen competi-



NOT READING THE WAR NEWS, BUT THE WANT ADS

tion on the labor market. In the crowded "Loop" district, thousands may be seen every noon awaiting the afternoon papers with their lists of offered jobs. When the newsboys appear they are virtually mobbed by the work-hungry crowds; and then comes a feverish scanning of the advertising sheets, and then a rush to be first applicant. One glance at the number of vacant positions in the paper and then at the size of the crowd will reveal the appalling difference in their respective numbers.

It is not always he of the tattered garments who is the greatest sufferer. A large number of those most unfortunate members of the working class,—the white-collared company of clerks,—may be seen filling the park benches. These have the additional disadvantage of having to maintain some sort of a respectable appearance. I noted one of this type, the other morning, arising from his night's repose on a bench in a secluded arbor of Lincoln Park. A piece of newspaper was placed within his vest to protect his shirt-

front and his collar and tie, carefully wrapped in paper, were beside him. He produced a small whisk broom from his pocket, and a comb, and made his pathetic toilet, not forgetting to polish his leaky shoes with the newspaper. He was not the type that dares to beg for a meal on the street and one could sense somehow that he had not the price of breakfast. I entered into conversation with him and discovered that he had worked in the auditing department of the Illinois Central Railroad. Two months ago he had been discharged on account of a cutting down of the staff and since then had found nothing but one or two odd jobs. I asked him whether he had been to the state free employment office. He said that he had and that once he had been dispatched to a residence to do odd jobs. On arrival there, he had been made to do some painting and other work which falls within the province of skilled labor and for which the current union rate is 65 cents per hour. For this he was offered twenty cents an hour. He was rather an unusual

type of clerk because he refused to do the work; for which I honored this obscure hero of industrial warfare.

On the "Flats," by the lake side, beyond the railroad tracks, may be observed groups of men washing their shirts and underclothing, in the effort to appear respectable and to rid themselves of the vermin with which the cheap lodging houses are infested. The possessor of a razor is also an exceedingly popular person at these gatherings. Looking westward from here, one sees the magnificent buildings of the clubs and hotels which line Michigan avenue where are also displayed the latest Paris costumes and the very cutest things from London in the line of walking canes and cravats.

And the well-dressed and excellently fed ladies and gentlemen, stepping nonchalantly into or out of their automobiles, are very possibly going to attend a meeting tonight in which the poor will be exhorted to recognize the benefits of thrift; and, possibly, the merits of cheese as a substitute for meat will be enthusiastically extolled, this being one of the latest fads of some of Chicago's wealthy reformers.

On West Madison street, the stamping ground for the itinerant worker, the employment offices have all posted the sign "No Shipments" in their windows. The mission halls bear the announcement that lunches will be served free at the conclusion of the services and, most pregnant sign of all, the proprietors of the ten- and fifteen-cent restaurants are complaining bitterly at the slackness of business. The streets are full of men tramping with that wearied, hopeless slouch typical of the discouraged and underfed seeker after work, although usually they do not make their appearance until later in the year. Everything points to the coming of the severest and most extensive unemployed spell that this country has ever experienced.

And, what to do? We know the probable happenings of the approaching winter, if things be not altered. Bread riots, unemployed processions, marches to city halls, meetings in parks and squares and

all the accompanying phenomena of hard, workless winters, characterized by a want of organization and a waste of energy which it is painful to see. And the proud aristocrat of labor, who happens to be holding on to a job, will not concern himself with the homeless one on the bread-line or in the empty garrets of the Ghetto. But, when he is on strike, and some of these yield to the temptation of good food and a bed and take his place, then will he boil over with contemptuous anger.

The working class organizations, sooner or later, will have to realize their identity of interest with the mass of unemployed. They will have to understand that it is essentially to their interest that there be as few men as possible looking for jobs. The revolutionary bodies should bestir themselves without delay to devise some method of not only showing the unemployed how to secure for themselves the necessities of life but also the advantages and absolute imperativeness of the solidarity of workers and workless. For the securing of food and shelter, petitions to governing bodies are worthless. The same amount of time, energy and sacrifice used in monster processions and meetings, with their consequent conflicts with the police, could be much better utilized in the taking by the unemployed of the things which they require. Wm. D. Haywood's recommendations to this effect, at the recent convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, should be taken to heart by all those who do not wish to see the unemployed movement deteriorate into the means for the exhibition of flowery oratory.

It is up to the unemployed themselves to better their conditions; nobody else is going to do it for them. And it is most emphatically up to the man with a job, if only in self-defense, to aid them in every possible way to secure their ends. The unemployed are continually referred to sneeringly as "the mob." Well and good; then the mob can and must be transformed into a coherent and conscious body, knowing well its economic position in society and the cause of it, and determined to go after the goods and to get them by any and all means.



DISCUSSING THEIR LAST JOBS

TACTICS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

WHILE the newspapers and magazines are filled with shrieking headlines about the Great War in Europe and the sufferings of the armies there, the vast Army of Unemployed, a large portion of which has been thrown out of work on account of the cessation of imports to Europe, are facing an equally important problem at our very doors. They are facing the problem that the survivors of the European war are going to face after the war is over.

We have to remember that our friends in the Unemployed Army are in the same boat we may occupy next week or next month. They are the men and women who have produced the houses, the clothing, the railroads, the food in America and who are "laid off" because the employing class does not pay them enough in wages to enable them to BUY or USE the very things they have MADE. The employers say they have no "markets" and are closing down the shops and factories because the shops and mills and factories are FILLED with the NECES-SITIES of LIFE which have been PRODUCED by the workers but which these workers have no money to BUY.

And now come these "laid off" men and women demanding that these full granaries be opened to satisfy their needs; that the clothing and shoes on the shelves which they have made be brought forth to shield them from the cold. That the houses, which they have built, and which are now standing empty, be opened to protect them from the winds and snows of winter.

What Shall the Unemployed Do?

At the national convention of the I. W. W. held in Chicago this month, William D. Haywood presented the following practical program for the Unemployed which was adopted by the delegates:

"Vigorous plans must be adopted to ward off the impending suffering (of the unemployed) during the coming winter. Industrial conditions indicate an approaching crisis unparalleled in this country. The workers here cannot escape the backwash of all the horrors of the European war. Already the economic effects are being felt. The capitalists are curtailing production in many different branches. Thousands of men have been discharged in the textile, steel, transportation, min-

ing and lumber industries. These numbers will soon be augmented by the harvest and other migratory workers whose work for the season is over.

"While the Army of the Unemployed is growing by legions, the Masters of Bread are preparing to ship to the murderous hordes of Europe the foodstuff that the workers have produced, and this with the connivance of the United States Government which has under way plans to subsidize ships for that purpose. No single thought is given to the peaceful, industrial Army of Production. Millions are appropriated for the militia, the army of destruction, and not a cent to provide work or care for the wealth producers.

"It is up to the workers to meet with grim determination the situation that presents itself. Food, clothing, shelter, are essential to life. Let the message of the I. W. W. be GET THEM! if you have to take pickaxes and crowbars and go to the granaries and warehouses and help yourselves. Rather than congregate around City Halls, Capitols and empty squares, go to the market places and waterfronts where food is abundant. If food is being shipped, confiscate it, if you have the power.

"Where houses are vacant occupy them. If machinery is idle use it, if practical to your purpose.

"Results can only be achieved through organized effort. Banded together and cooperating for mutual welfare the unemployed will get by the hard winter.

"I suggest that some provision be made for the Industrial Workers of the World to organize the unemployed, that a propaganda card be issued to such new members, said cards to be deposited in the industrial union when the person gets work.

"If some such plan can be inaugurated the unemployed, as soon as industries resume operation, will become an integral part of One Big Union and through organization will be in a position to levy tribute on the prosperity that the privileged class is anticipating and the newspapers are promising as a result of the devastation of war."

On the subject of the work of organization in general, Haywood said:

"One I. W. W. on the job is worth two

in the jungle. To know the work in hand is the duty of every member. Efficiency of labor need not be used to increase profits. It can be applied to a counter purpose. But it must be recognized that efficiency and ability are required to operate industry. By learning how to apply labor power in the most scientific way will suggest means of withholding and preserving labor power.

"It should be the ambition of every industrial worker to possess a technical and practical knowledge of industry. At least this knowledge must be concentrated in the group with the conscious organized purpose of using it for all society rather than for a privileged class of idle stockholders. The closer we can establish relations between the workers who produce the raw material and the workers who finish the products, the better will be the understanding of our class interests.

"The \$1.50 and twelve-hour man has a big gap to close. Improvement in the standard of the CLASS is our object. The common laborer at the meanest work is entitled to the same standard of life as the most skilled artisan. The chief work of the I. W. W. is to organize the unskilled and the unorganized. It is upon this great mass of humanity that life depends. The skilled worker is comparatively a small faction and will be forced to join the branch of his industry in One Big Union."

The tendency is for labor organizations to grow conservative as they grow older. Time and again we have seen labor organizers and new unions start out with broad and revolutionary aims, but we have usually found these same organizers and these same unions becoming fixed and conservative or reactionary within a few years.

The last convention of the I. W. W. has proven that this union is an exception to the general rule. As of yore we found our old friends voicing the needs of the dispossessed, the unskilled, unorganized, and even opening its doors to the Unemployed. At last we have found a group of workers who really intend to cooperate and organize with all workers, who are actually urging the workers of

the world to unite, and who are endeavoring to make it practicable for them to do so. They have let down the bars to the unemployed outcast. And we believe that the labor world will ultimately come to realize that they have greatly added to their own **STRENGTH** thereby.

For the first time in the labor movement a union has given free opportunity

for all men to come into their organization. We believe this will prove to be the basis for a future union between the men on the job and the men who are "laid off" that will ultimately control the labor power of the world. It will cement the men on the job to the men "out of work," and make class consciousness a more vital force in the world.



—From the Masses

Why Not "See America First"?

FIGHTING WEAPONS

An Appeal to the Miners

By FRANK BOHN

HERE are two cartridges. One is for use in the new model Springfield rifle, used by the regular army and militia. The other is from some old blunderbus picked up and used by a striker in defense of his home and his family. The regular army record with the Springfield rifle at a distance of one mile from a moving target is ten straight hits. I doubt whether the blunderbus aforementioned, using the ammunition that we see here, would be dangerous at three hundred yards. I am asking you, as a representative of the Socialist party, to vote for the Springfield rifle. Take this weapon from the enemy and place it in your own hands.

The foundations of all government are built upon force. Without force capitalist law is exactly nothing and no more. Today force protects wealth from being enjoyed by those who produce it. Forces seizes the lands of undeveloped peoples and enslaves them to the machines of international capitalism. Capitalist force is now highly organized and centralized. In a conflict of arms today the workers are doomed to defeat.

Of course it is better to die fighting than to live as starving slaves. No one can deny that. A few days ago I heard a Christian preacher in this town say that, had he been a striker at Ludlow, he "would have taken a six-shooter in each hand and never stopped fighting until he was dead." In the bitter conflict which took place in Colorado a few weeks ago, you miners should rejoice in the mighty sentiment of support which you received from the workers everywhere. Never in the history of working-class America has there been such unity. The workers throughout the land, organized and unorganized, Catholics and Protestants, Democrats and Republicans, as well as Socialists, gloried in the fact that you fought back, and regretted only that they could not come, millions strong, to your assistance. It was all so heroic and inspiring because of the spirit it indicated.

But it was so hopeless, too. Any man who has ever carried a gun down the road, under discipline, knows how hopeless it was.

Let us look at the facts. Fifteen years ago the regular army of the United States numbered 25,000. The naval and marine force numbered 12,000. The militia, numbering 112,000, was disorganized, poorly armed and ineffectual. Today the regular army numbers 90,000, the naval and marine force 60,000, and the militia, though its numbers have not been much increased, is today armed, organized and trained much as is the regular army. The government at Washington thus has an available force of 270,000 men.

But this is only the beginning of the story. The ruling class is organized. Our producing class is worse than disorganized. The ruling class controls the technical knowledge of the fighting game. Let us not forget that there is no profession in the world which requires more of science and art, of trained skill, than the profession of arms. The ruling class can enlist men in large numbers. So can we, I hear some one say. But they can arm, feed, clothe and transport men. We cannot. At Ludlow, and elsewhere in the mining districts, when you retreated to the hills, you had no reserve ammunition, no blankets, no food supply and no cooking utensils. Each one of you used up what ever ammunition you happened to have with you and then you stood helpless. Let me repeat what I have already said. You were not permitted to debate upon your course. You were forced to take up arms. You did your duty as best you could. But now that the skirmishes of the past year are over let us not refuse to learn their most obvious lesson. The working class cannot now take up arms and in the long run do anything but commit suicide with them.

The one absolutely unanswerable argument for political action in the class struggle is the physical force argument. The

sheriff of the county of Las Animas has sworn in, since the Colorado strike began, exactly 594 deputies. These included local capitalists and scabs and imported professional gunmen. It was the working men and women of Colorado, you miners included, who placed weapons in their hands and clothed their murderous actions with the sanction of law. Your Democratic, Republican and Progressive votes, cast upon the water, have returned after many days, not as bread, but as bullets.

Were this the first time such an event had happened in Colorado, we Socialists would be more disposed to patience. But the murder of the workers in this state is now an old story. Ten years ago there was a general strike of the coal and metalliferous miners of that state. On that occasion I had the privilege of going to Colorado and talking to you miners there. Surely the message of working class political action, at that time, voiced by scores of speakers, organizers and thousands of local comrades, reached all of you. We blamed the mine owners for the dreadful conditions which prevailed in the mines before the strike and for the heinous crimes perpetrated upon the workers during the strike. Today I cannot repeat that charge. I have been to Colorado again, this time to accuse the enfranchised portion of the working class. You are guilty of the horrors of the past eight months. Again and again, during the ten years since the last great mine strike, you have elected capitalist sheriffs, capitalist legislators, and capitalist judges. You have done this in nearly every state.

Yet Socialist faith in the working class is unbounded. We realize that the lesson concerning the nature of capitalist rule must be taught by experience again and again and again. On behalf of the Socialist party, I once more pledge it to serve you and you alone. If its candidates are defeated you and I are defeated. If its candidates are elected to office you and I are elected to office and succeed to the powers of office. The Socialist party of Colorado or West Virginia or Pennsylvania, if necessary, will place the new model Springfields in your hands. If, in the defense of your homes and your families, the militia must needs be called out, you will ride the horses, wrap yourselves in the good blankets, sleep under the waterproof tents and eat the very good rations which are served to the militia.

Are all these worth while to you? Would they help you in a strike? Are they worth voting for on the second day of next November?

It would seem almost unnecessary for me to add that a working class Socialist administration of Colorado or Montana or Ohio would expel every gunman, protect every striker's home, and win such reasonable demands as you have made, without fixing a bayonet to a rifle or firing a single shot.

One Big Union

Out of the bitter and unequal conflict in Colorado a single fact stands out like a great light in the darkness. I refer to the action of the railroad workers. During the whole strike they have loyally refused to haul scabs and gunmen into the strike districts. These railroad rebels included switchmen, brakemen, conductors, firemen and engineers. A number of them in this town were discharged from their jobs by the railroad company. All their fellow-workmen on the division threatened a strike and the rebels were reinstated. All hail to these railroad workers! They are worthy of the great traditions of the American Railway Union and the battle of 1894.

Two facts which the history of the past two years in the Colorado and West Virginia districts so clearly exhibit are the pillars of our hope for the future. The first is that the working class will fight. The second is that, as a class, it is developing solidarity. This new unity is industrial as well as political. Experience alone can teach the mass of the workers. How long will it be before our education will be sufficient for the work which history has now given our class to perform? When will the railroad workers refuse to haul scab coal out of mines? When will they refuse to move a car in or out of a struck mine camp? When will the workers at the Rockefeller steel mills at Pueblo be ready to quit their machines when the miners lay down their tools? When the coal and metal miners, the metal and machinery workers and the railroad men, regardless of the nature of their work, or the amount of pay they receive, are united in ONE BIG UNION and in possession of political power the time for revolution will be at hand. These six millions of strong men, united as one, will be a greater force for progress than the world has ever known in

any land and in any period of history. This force can destroy American capitalism and establish Socialism, which will be a condition of industrial freedom for all.

Industrial Unionism

It seems so simple. We are all in the same condition of slavery, of semi-starvation, of worry concerning the future. The forces making for perfect unity are so tremendous. Suppose some of you have steady jobs and comparatively high wages. You have children, some of you five or six of them. The "good" jobs are becoming scarcer every day. What is to become of your children? You are sending two or three of them to the high school. Without jobs that will but increase the misery of their poverty. Intelligent skilled workers, understanding these facts, are ready to take their places in ONE BIG UNION, so they will be ready to win more for all. Only fools go on to defeat after defeat in little groups by themselves.

That is the only difference I can see between industrial unionists and craft unionists in this year, 1914—intelligent men and women on the one hand, asses on the other. Take the most aristocratic of all workers, the locomotive engineers. You get in the west from \$150 to \$200 a month. But how many of you can look forward to a peaceful old age and a natural death? Practically all of you will be killed or injured sooner or later. Why? Chiefly because today there are on most railroads less than one-third of the number of section hands absolutely required to keep the road-bed in shape. Because the section hands who are at work don't get food enough to keep themselves in shape. You die because the shopmen don't get a fair chance to repair your engines, because the brakemen have to work twice as long as flesh and blood and nerves should work at the job. And then I am told by some of you that your interests are not the same as those of the working class generally. Let me repeat that the difference between the industrial unionist and a craft or group unionist today is the difference between the intelligent man and the fool—a fool accursed by his ignorance and through that ignorance dangerous to the welfare of his family, of his class and a hindrance to social progress. If you locomotive engineers and all other skilled workers value your lives and care at all

for the future of your children, bring your miserably weak brotherhoods together into ONE BIG UNION and join with the shopmen and the section hands. Do what the miners have done. Then align yourself with the miners, the metal workers, the farm workers, and all the other toilers in the land.

ONE BIG UNION and that union revolutionary; opposed to the wages system; fighting for and securing better conditions today; forcing the parasites off our backs tomorrow, a union with twenty-five millions of members and a vision that reaches to the stars! If you but permit yourselves to experience the inspiration of this ideal your whole life will be changed, deep down at the base of it. You will wish to live long, love your fellows and to grow with the growth of the world.

The Strike and the Ballot

Amidst the scenes of the class war, with the black, stricken field of Ludlow in mind, we see means and end more clearly. Here we must at least set to thinking with perfect confidence in one another's good intentions. There has been in the past, among the American working people, far too much of dissension and bitterness of spirit. Let me express the earnest desire that all of you, for the moment, try to see the matter as we Socialists do. I don't ask all of you to agree with us finally. I do urge you just now to stand beside us, to look in our direction, and see the things we see.

This is the way it looks to me: Five hundred of you live in a mine town up the canyon. You are robbed and cheated. You protest only to find yourselves despised and spat upon. Your lives are always endangered. Often you follow the coffins of relatives and friends murdered in the mine by a greedy, scheming, law-breaking corporation. You're a Catholic and you are taxed a dollar a month to pay for a Protestant parson hired by your boss. What is to be done? To that question there can be but one answer. You must strike. You refuse to go into the mine until your own committee assures you that it is safe. You refuse to pay a dollar a month for a corporation parson to pray you into heaven. You wish instead to pay for your own checkweighmen to prevent the corporation from cheating you out of your pay for the

coal you dig. You strike and the boss locks you out of the mine and drives you out of town.

The strike is the greatest human event in the world today. It is the worker's will to live, expressed in heroic action. It is human history in its inmost heart unfolding itself. It buries your past with its slavery. It gives birth to your future of power and freedom.

The strike is an industrial battle. The ballot and the political power it gives supply the physical force with which to win the battle. We have already shown why these two are inseparable. Do not think that I am maintaining here the sanctity and the virtue of government and of law. Capitalist politicians in legislatures pass laws which are deliberately intended to deceive the workers. For instance, there is already a law on the statute books of Colorado forbidding the importation of strike-breakers from without the state. Such a law, with capitalist politicians in office, is simply nothing. In Cherry, Ill., some years ago, nearly three hundred workers were burned to death in a mine. To accomplish these frightful murders the great corporation which owned the Cherry mine broke exactly five laws which were upon the statute books of the state of Illinois. Had any of those laws been enforced a thousand widows and children would have had their husbands and fathers at the supper table that evening. Mere laws are nothing. When there is a fight, men in the executive offices are what count. Put yourselves in office. Enforce the laws as they are. Disarm and expel the gunmen and enlist the strikers as militia. Don't let a wheel turn or a pound of coal be mined until the corporations are brought to time. Protect every pound and every inch of property from destruction by the corporation detectives. Your strikes will then be won within thirty days.

The union organizes you. Political action protects you. The strike starves out the capitalist. The vote prevents the capitalist from starving you out. The strike takes you out of the mines. The vote keeps you from going into the jails. The strike prevents the capitalist from docking your wages to pay for a parson you don't want. The vote enables you to tax the capitalist to hire a school teacher you do want. The strike enlists millions to fight for us who

can't vote. The vote enlists millions to fight for us who can't strike.

Some say that we cannot trust the men we place in political office. Others say that we dare not trust those we place in the offices of the union. I have not so low an opinion of you and you have not so low an opinion of me. The men and women of the working class everywhere are learning to trust themselves and one another. There never were more loyal fighters anywhere than those we are now enlisting in our cause. A much worse evil than the disloyalty of a few is the ignorance of the many. But the workers everywhere are learning what they want and the means of getting it.

Compare the United Mine Workers with what it was ten years ago. Compare its leading officers, its methods, its demands, and its fighting power with what each of these was ten years ago. That organization is worth infinitely more than it was then. Compare the Socialist party with what it was ten years ago. At that time there were not enough well informed socialists in many states to fill a hall. Next autumn hundreds of thousands of men and women will vote our ticket and know why they are doing so. We have crawled out of our swaddling clothes and put on armor. Our Socialist party propaganda has accomplished more than that of any other organization in bringing the workers to a knowledge of industrial unionism. We have no excuses to offer anybody anywhere. We are proud of what has been accomplished and confident of the future.

Socialism

Some of you say that you still do not understand Socialism. Socialist conversation sounds well but you can't quite "get what we're driving at." Let me request of you to forget for the moment whatever in your mind seems difficult concerning Socialism. In just ten minutes the whole matter will be as simple as ham and eggs for a quarter, over at the corner restaurant.

When you win one strike, for example, you will work eight hours instead of ten. That will be law number one passed by yourselves, for yourselves. You will get a ten per cent increase of wages. That will be law number two. You will have your own checkweighmen. That will be law

number three. The laws which count most for you are the laws of the mine. Get power there and the Kingdom of Heaven will be added unto you here and now. Imagine the hours of work becoming less and less and the percentage of your product you receive becoming more and more. Imagine that, finally, nothing is left for the boss to do but to join the union and to go to work.

Some of you are troubled in mind when you hear Socialists speak of "The Revolution." Nothing else so simple. When we are fully organized, industrially and politically, we shall beat the whole capitalist class and force its members to accept our terms. That is "The Revolution." The workers of America, being in control, will rule themselves on the job. That will be Socialist government. Conceive of the Congress of the United States being composed of the representatives of the various industries—representatives of the miners, of the metal workers, of the railroad workers and of the farmers. I happen to be a teacher. I wish to see the teachers organized—kindergartners, primary grades, high school teachers, university professors—all in one union. When the teachers have less work, more to eat and more to say about running the schools, we shall have better

schools. Of course the workers of the whole nation will have the supervising power, the final voice, in determining how much wealth shall be produced, in what form, and how our great institutions of production shall be managed. Socialism will be a condition of industrial liberty under the law of a collective democracy. Socialism will mean life and freedom and civilization and brotherhood for all, realized at last.

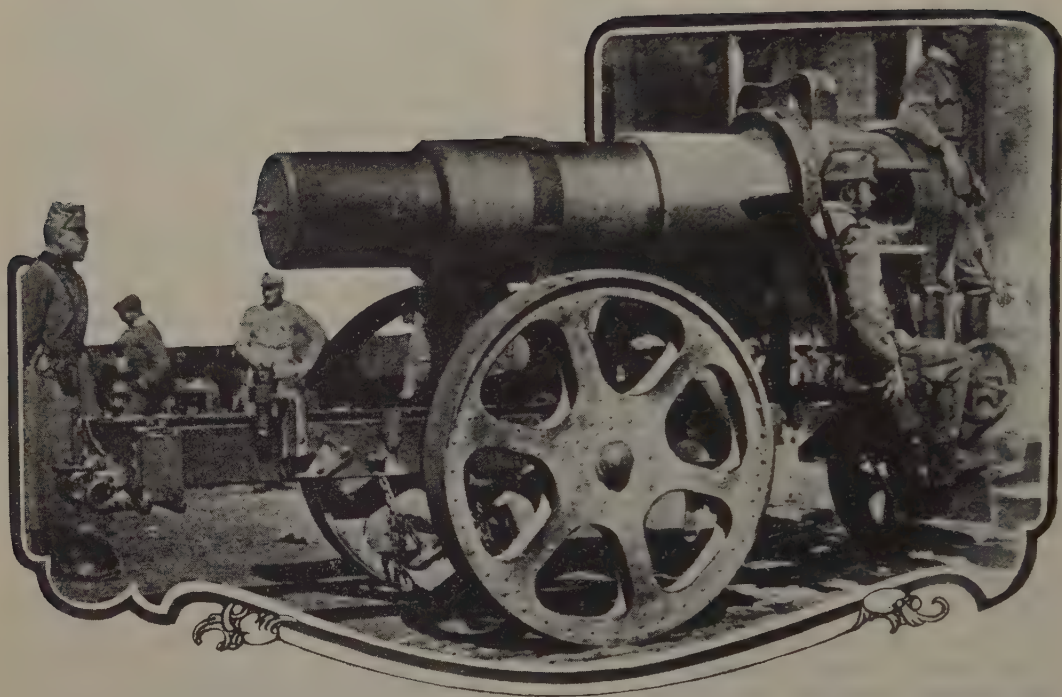
As petty struggles fought to secure a few small immediate benefits, the miners' strikes of the past two years with their sacrifice and suffering, their new made graves, would not be worth the cost. But considered as a part of our great world wide conflict, no price, even unto the death of thousands, is too great to pay for industrial freedom. With the memory of the ashes of Ludlow imperishably fixed in our minds may we

"Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.

"Come, shoulder to shoulder, ere Earth grows
older!

The Cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me."





AUSTRIAN SIEGE GUN

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WAR NEWS FROM ABROAD

The Workers and the War

National Union of Brewery Workers, England.

E. L. Pratt, general secretary.

IT is almost inevitable that the eyes of many of our members should be turned just at present away from the class war at home to that other horrible and bloody conflict now being fought out on the Continent of Europe. But it would be deplorable, nay, tragical, if the reality of the workers' war on the capitalists were allowed, even for a moment, to be obscured by the artificiality (monstrous crime though it be) of the war that the

workers of the world are now, at their masters' bidding, waging against themselves.

If our eyes are dazzled by the blinding blaze of this lurid abomination, may it only be that we shall see better when the fires of race hatred have died down.

Our masters are certainly doing their best to make us see even now. Brewery workers know this to their cost: The employers, not content with being rob-

bers, tyrants and slave-drivers, are now entering the ranks of the recruiting sergeants. At a word from the governing classes (who alone stand to benefit from the war) the brewery owners, along with other parasites, are whipping up their men to seize a gun and march forth to slaughter their own working-class brothers. Everywhere in our breweries a dastardly underhand pressure is being brought to bear on unmarried men to enlist for the war or take the sack. We denounce this as the meanest and most intolerable form of conscription that could be introduced, and we appeal with all the force we can command, to workers thus intimidated to **stop and think** before they allow themselves to be plunged into this insensate struggle, this devilish welter of human blood.

Stop and think as to why wars are made in this age of cut-throat competition. Stop and think as to whose word it was that let loose this carnage of hell. Was it yours? The workers of the world have no quarrel with each other. The capitalists of the world may have—that is the logical outcome of their damnable trade. **But it is not the capitalists who are fighting.** In the old days the feudal lord led his men into battle, and only held his lands on the condition that he was ready to fight for them. But the modern plutocrat, with more at stake, has found a better way of protecting his property. The wage-slaves of Europe are facing each other in the trenches of death and battering their own brothers behind engines of destruction that their own hands have made (more's the pity) in order that the masters of the earth, hiding at home in their palaces, shall wrest yet more toil and tribute out of your tears.

For make quite certain of this: Whatever the result of Armageddon you stand to gain nothing and lose all round. The English may win or the Germans may win, but every war is a catastrophe for the workers. You were told at the start that it was a question of honor and patriotism for which you were asked to sacrifice your lives. But the lie, having served

its purpose of hurling you against your comrades abroad, is now giving place to something nearer the truth. It is a war for trade—that is, profits for the capitalists—and you are only pawns in the game. Already the truth is out. The cry has gone forth: Capture German trade, collar the mercantile routes, seize the enemy's markets. You know what that means. You know how much you stand to gain when the masters are out on the warpath of grab. You remember how much you got out of the South African war; and the result for you will be the same again, only a thousand times worse. Death or mutilation on the battlefield, starvation and unemployment at home, the loss of dear ones, a bleaker winter for the people than the world has ever known—and at the end of it all, your chains riveted on you more strongly than ever.

That is the prospect for which the brewery bosses, with their fiendish cunning, are imploring you, and forcing you to enlist. Be not deceived: There is no reform, or higher wages, or better conditions awaiting you as the result of this job. It would never have been started if the capitalists thought that. Your employers allow you only one change of uniform. It is either the miserable rags of your servitude or the khaki tunic of a yet baser tyranny, the mad tyranny of the soldier fighting his own class for the benefit of money lords.

The workers, properly organized, could have stopped this war. With a word they could have rammed the bloody suggestion of it down the throats of those who made it. But they were not properly organized. That is to come. But even now they can exert their influence to bring the strife to an end sooner than the masters intend.

To the young unmarried men of our breweries we therefore appeal. Unite, organize and resist the damnable pressure that is now being brought to bear on you. Submit **your** ultimatum. Instead of it being: Enlist or go, let it be: Hands off, or we shut up the breweries. Threaten the masters' profits and you will have them dumb in five minutes.



BELGIAN FAMILIES WHO FLED TO ENGLAND LEFT ALL THEIR WORLDLY POSSESSIONS IN NUMBERED BUNDLES AT THE ALEXANDRIA PALACE, LONDON.



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WORKING CLASS MOTHERS AT MELLE, BELGIUM, BEGGING FOR MONEY. THEIR HOMES WERE DESTROYED BY THE GERMAN SOLDIERS

PARIS IN WAR TIME

(The following are extracts from the Paris diary of a worker well known in the Socialist and labor movements in America.)

AUGUST 2nd, 1914. The government issued the first mobilization order and posted it at 4 p. m. on Saturday. They are giving 24 hours for tourists to "beat it" out of France. Many Americans, those having large purses, took advantage of it and got out on time. It was impossible, however, for any one with limited means to do so. The American line put its prices up so high as to make it impossible to leave Cherbourg. For instance, on Friday, 24 hours before anybody knew of the general mobilization, it charged \$350 for first class, \$250 for second class and \$175 for steerage. Bejeweled creatures, used to every comfort, were content to make the trip at any cost and inconvenience.

You should have seen Paris. The death of Jaures passed off without any untoward incident. The morning after his death, the government over the signature of Viviani, promptly came out with a statement which left no doubt that the government had no part in his death. The statement was sincere and complete. Everyone, even Victor Dave, thought it the finest of its kind. A violent demonstration, which might have split France, was averted.

All the syndicalist unions are nearly depleted and have obeyed the mobilization order. Tremendous enthusiasm was shown everywhere. Big crowds of Russians, Italians, English, students and sympathizers, are parading Paris day and night. One mob of at least 20,000, stretching all the way from the Opera to St. Denis, paraded with flags, singing in turn their national hymns. The scene at night almost beggars description. The mobs were almost insanity personified.

Today all the Bon Laitre Maggi stores (the milk stores of the Maggi Company) were completely destroyed all over the city. The fixtures were taken away by the crowds, comprised mostly of women, and used for firewood. This company is organized by German-Swiss capital.

Only a detachment of regular cavalry prevented the German consulate from being destroyed today. It is getting fiercer every hour. Americans, however, seem to be quite safe.

How it will end is impossible to tell, but I hope that as long as the slaves are not ready for the general strike they will go to war and fight it out. This war should be decisive. No interference from the world's money-changers this time; for the moment they have reached the limit of their borrowing capacity. Militarism must be given all the rope it wants to hang itself, and settle the peace of Europe for at least a century to come. All military oligarchies must die with this war. All monarchies and so-called republics must perish. This war may be the prelude of the downfall of capitalism the world over. Let us hope so.

August 6th, 1914. The city is quiet now. Mobilization is going on orderly and enthusiastically. The entire C. G. T. has gone to war. The Bataille Syndicaliste is now a pro-military sheet. Gustave Herve prayed the minister of war do him the honor to allow him to fight for his country. Gustave Herve, the same Herve who wrote that splendid pamphlet on patriotism! How the gods have fallen! France is united to a man. They will burn Paris before they will allow a German soldier to set his foot on it. Underground food stuffs are still normal. He who raises prices gets licked and his stores promptly looted, often in the presence of the gendarmes, who only mildly interfere. All over the city, big and little tradesmen have posted their signs "Prices not augmented." The Frenchman stands for no "monkey-shine." Anybody thinking that property is a sacred institution in France is mistaken. They wrecked every German Maggi Laitre place in the city in one day, which simply goes to show what they could do in times where real social revolutionary principles were at stake.

FROM THE BRINK OF THE EUROPEAN HELL

From Comrade James P. Millar, Masselburgh, Scotland.

HERE in Britain we Socialists stand appalled by the hell-black war cloud that is sweeping down on us threatening to overturn civilization and to damn progress for a hundred years. Nor are we alone. Our comrades in France, in Germany and in Belgium are suffering likewise.

You in America are no doubt watching the European armageddon with tremendous interest but not with the tremor of fear with which we watch it here.

"Our" prime minister, Mr. Asquith, has just embarked on a national campaign to arouse the country and to explain the cause of the war. He pretends that the reason for our taking part in the conflict is because the neutrality of Belgium, which we had guaranteed by treaty, has been violated by Germany. "What account," he says, "would the government and the people have been able to render to the tribunal of the national conscience and sense of honor if, in defiance of our plighted and solemn obligations, we had endured, if we had not done our best, to prevent, aye, and to avenge their intolerable wrongs?"

"For my part, I say that sooner than be a silent witness—which means—in effect—a willing accomplice—to this tragic triumph of brutality over freedom, I would sooner see this country of ours blotted out of the page of history." (Asquith.)

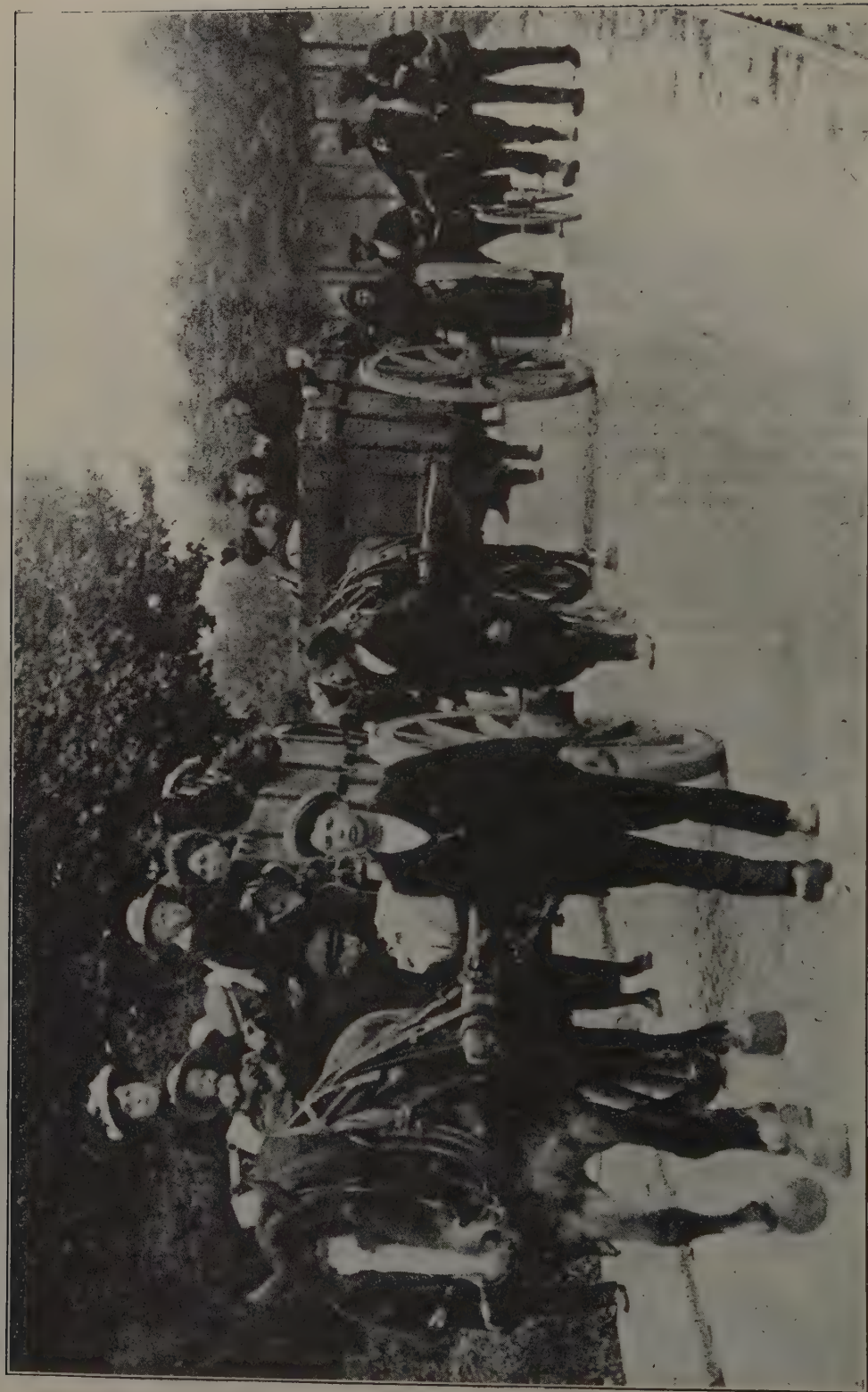
So chanted the old hypocrite. For every thinking person knows and Mr. Asquith knows that it was **not** because the Prussian hosts trampled on the rights of an unoffending people that this country took up arms, but because we are

certain that the defeat of France and Belgium would precede the defeat of Britain.

Admitting the "necessity" of this war, it is well to consider whether the working classes of this country have anything to gain by volunteering to sacrifice their lives. Let us look at this question from the viewpoint of self-interest.

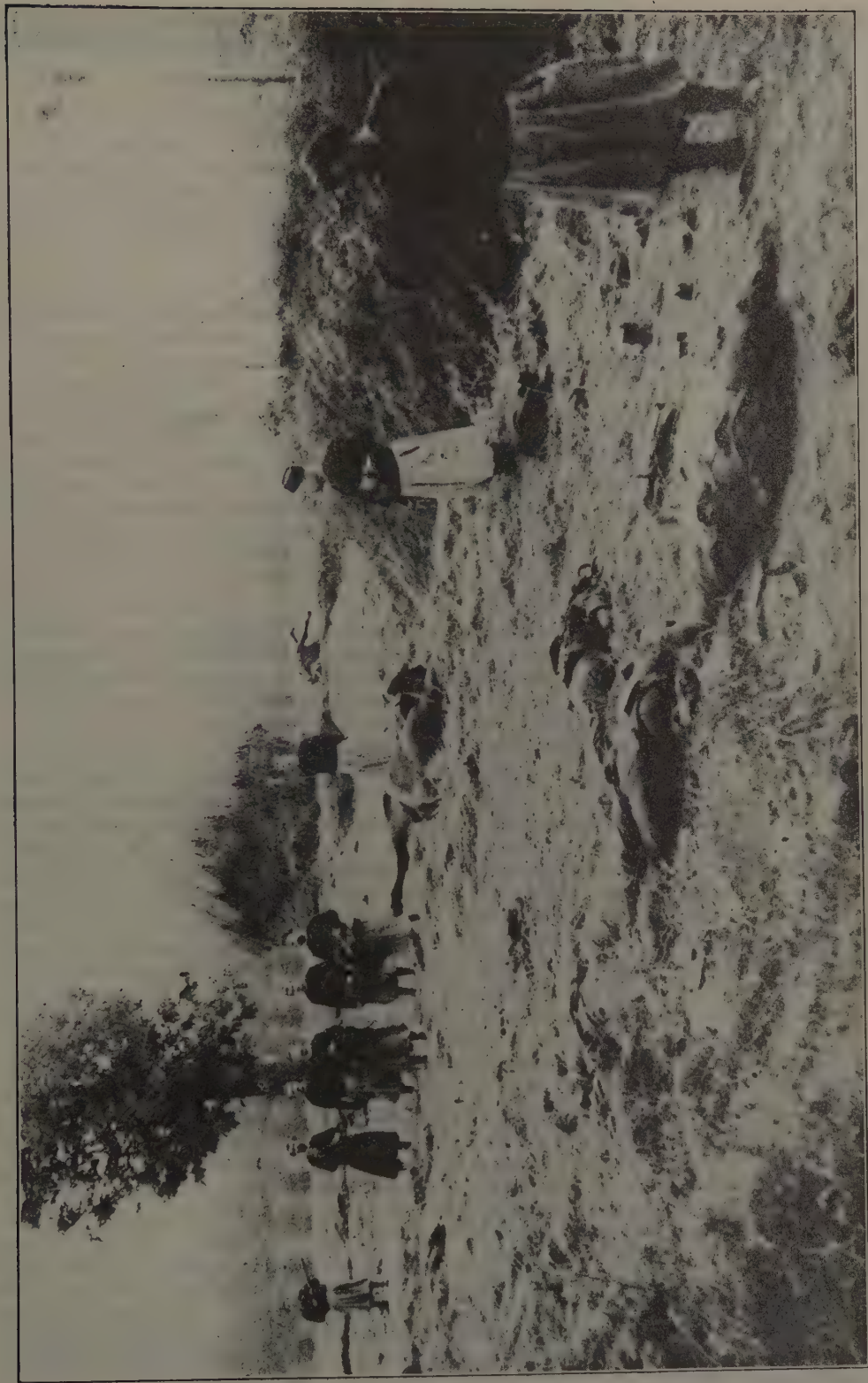
They tell us that if we had refused to fight, Germany would have been able to walk over into England at her leisure. In that case the **rich** would lose a great deal of their riches, but, for **obvious** reasons, such a fate could not befall the working class. And if the Germans looked after **this** country as well as we understand they look after their **own**, there might be fewer slums and less starvation. The working class might stand to **gain**. Undoubtedly we would lose some of our freedom, but sad to say, freedom is only a word to the vast majority of us. But the workers take everything from hearsay with the result that they believe that this is **their** country and **their** country is in danger. And off they go to join in the carnage on behalf of something that is not theirs.

The attitude of the Socialist is different. He knows that this is not **his** country. He reads in the government posters "Your king and country need you," and he shrugs his shoulders saying, "Yes, **now**; but after the war; **no**." He can starve to death for all his king and his country care **then**. He does see, however, that if Britain is beaten both he and his comrades in France and Belgium are almost sure to lose a considerable amount of freedom which is very dear to him and to them.



BELGIAN REFUGEES FLEEING BEFORE THE GERMAN ARMY.

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FRENCH ZOUAVES BURYING DEAD GERMANS AFTER THE BATTLE OF MARNE.
Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

IMPERIALISM AND THE WAR

By Karl Kautsky

(Note. The first duty of Socialists in relation to the war is to understand it. The fact that we have a key to the riddle which puzzles the national intelligence gives us a great advantage in the present political campaign. The following article is an application of Socialist principles to the fundamental problem which demands solution. It gains authority from the fact that, excepting the last paragraphs, it was written several weeks before the outbreak of hostilities. It was published in *Die Neue Zeit* on September 11th.)

INDUSTRIAL production receives a strong impetus from the development of the wage system, the substitution of capitalist production for simple production.

The capitalist—as capitalist—does not labor in the concern from which he draws his profits. The independent small producer, laboring with his own hands, has motives for shortening the hours of labor. These motives do not exist for the capitalist. It should be borne in mind, of course, that reference is here made to the craftsman of the time when independent labor was at its height, before it was reduced to a state of frantic misery by the competition of capitalists.

The capitalist has his men working for him. Their discomfort is nothing to him. The longer their hours the greater his profits.

But the individual capitalist must find some other means of increasing production. Development in this direction has definite physical limitations. But no such limitation exists in regard to the number of workers who may be employed. Whether he employs 10 or 100 or 1,000 depends entirely on the extent of his capital. And every additional employe means an increase in profits.

With increased investment of capital and larger number of workers there come, naturally, improved machinery, greater division of labor, improved methods of securing raw materials and marketing the product. Therefore, no matter how rapidly the number of workers in any industry has increased, the amount of capital invested per worker has grown much more rapidly. And in proportion as the profits of the individual capitalist have grown there has grown also the sum which he is unable to consume.

This accumulation must be constantly reinvested if the capitalist process is to be continued.

At this point there appears a tremendous difference between agriculture and industry. The possibilities of investment in the one are immensely greater than in the other. This does not mean that a landowner carrying on agriculture in a capitalistic manner has less opportunity to accumulate profits than an industrial capitalist. But it does mean that in any given district the possibilities of investing capital in agriculture are more limited than the possibilities of investing it in industry. The causes of this difference are to be found in various technical and social considerations.

Agriculture has to do with the production and reproduction of living organisms. This process cannot be arbitrarily facilitated or extended through the increase in the number of laborers devoted to it. Industry, on the contrary, can be developed indefinitely as long as the supply of labor and raw material holds out.

On the other hand, industry is much less dependent on land than is agriculture. If an industrial capitalist has money enough he will have little difficulty in raising the number of his employes from 10 to 100. He can almost always secure the land which is necessary to the enlargement of his buildings. The agricultural capitalist is in a different position. If he wants to hire ten times as many men as hitherto, he must have ten times as much land. But the land beyond his borders is the private property of his competitors. Even if he is able to secure land from these, he will merely take over their laborers and thus the number of workers employed in the district will not be increased. In a set-

tled country an increase in the number of agricultural laborers is out of the question unless there is a change in the methods of production. In industry, however, there can be in one country or region an increase in the number of concerns, in their average size, and in the total number of workers employed even without any change in the methods of production.

And technical improvements in production affect industry and agriculture differently. In both, to be sure, they tend to decrease the number of workers in proportion to the amount of capital invested and the product turned out. In industry, however, this decrease has been only a relative one, never an absolute one. Instead of a decrease in the number of workers there has been a rapid increase in the capital invested and the amount of the product. In agriculture, on the other hand, the decrease in the number of workers has often been not only relative but absolute.

This difference is increased by another circumstance. When industry is cut off from agriculture, agriculture remains the basis of society. Without the constant appearance of new agricultural products we should not be able to exist. In the cities we could hardly subsist for a day without new supplies of flour, milk, meat and vegetables. But we could wear our old coats and hats a little longer and thus get on without new ones. So the manufacturer of cotton goods could not get on without new importations of cotton, but if his spinning machines are old he can make them do for another year.

But this is not all.

The products of agriculture are less varied than those of industry and their value is more stable. Grain and milk, meat and potatoes are everywhere the chief means of sustenance; they are not subject to varying fashions. But if you wish a new coat, how many materials are at your disposal? And how rapidly do their fashions change! And the spinner who needs a new machine has the choice among many designs, and the progress in his industry constantly demands new and better ones.

All this results in the fact that there is to be found in capitalist industry a powerful factor which hardly appears

in agriculture even when it is carried on capitalistically. This factor is competition, the struggle of various concerns for the market. The industrial capitalist must cultivate his market far more carefully than does the landowner. The difficulties of the agriculturist in relation to his market are brought about by the middleman rather than by competitors.

And the situation changes constantly to the disadvantage of industry. Industrial capital is constantly increasing and agriculture trails farther and farther in the rear. The industrial population grows steadily and demands increased quantities of farm products for sustenance and raw material. And during this time, naturally, the agricultural population is growing relatively, if not absolutely, smaller and its demand for the products of industry is constantly falling off.

In the struggle of competition the larger and better equipped concern has an advantage over others. The more bitter competition becomes, the greater is the necessity of each concern to enlarge its plant and improve its equipment.

Thus far we have viewed the accumulation of capital only from the point of view of the convenience of the individual capitalist. We must now look at it from a different point of view. It is more than a convenience; it is a necessity. The growth of his industry becomes for the capitalist a necessary condition of life. He cannot wait until there is a greater demand for his products. He must increase his production, and if the demand does not increase naturally it must be artificially nurtured.

The intensity of competition is a result of the fact of the impetus toward the accumulation of capital and the increase of production is far greater in industry than in agriculture. This fact, which is in the first place a result of the difference between industry and agriculture, becomes a cause for the increase in this difference.

This situation presents an important problem.

Industry must develop rapidly under capitalist conditions or society will be plunged into misery. Agriculture is constantly turning off workers. Even where the number of agricultural workers re-

mains stationary the increase in population is sent to the cities. Industry is constantly attracting increased numbers. Unemployment results instantly if industry does not develop with sufficient rapidity. On the other hand, the fiercer competition becomes, the more capitalists are forced to expand. If the market does not keep abreast of this expansion the capitalist stares bankruptcy in the face.

But if industry is to expand agriculture must keep pace with it. It must furnish increased quantities of raw materials and means of life; and it must, also, consume the products of industry with which those of agriculture are purchased.

How is this possible if the accumulation of capital goes on much more rapidly in industry than in agriculture?

Malthus saw that population increases geometrically, that is, as the progression 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc., while the means of life increase arithmetically, that is, as the progression 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. He viewed this as the law of population. In reality, however, it turns out to be a law of capitalist accumulation. As such it is less terrible than Malthus conceived it to be. For in accordance with it the industrial population of a region increases in proportion to the series 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, while the agricultural population remains stationary or decreases. And at the same time the total product of an industrial worker increases much more rapidly than that of an agricultural worker. The industry of any district would find it impossible to carry on the accumulation necessary to its continued existence if it were limited to the markets of that district. Capitalist accumulation in industry can proceed freely only when the agricultural region which supplies its raw material and consumes its products is constantly being enlarged.

Since agrarian production has a two-fold relation to industry a rupture between them may manifest itself in two ways. At one time the market for the products of industry in the agricultural districts will not increase as rapidly as production; then we have what is called overproduction. At another time agriculture will fail to produce a sufficient quantity of raw material and food, and then we have the increased cost of living.

So far as these phenomena are not the results of other considerations which lie outside the boundaries of the present discussion they are closely related. Either one of them may quickly lead to the other. The rise of prices leads to a panic, which is merely another name for overproduction, and the panic leads to a fall of prices.

On the other hand, the constant effort of industry to increase the agricultural region through relations with which it carries on its activity may take on the most varied forms. It is true that this effort is necessary to the continued existence of capitalism, but this does not mean that the capitalist is compelled to resort to any particular methods of expansion.

One form of effort in this direction is called imperialism. This was preceded by another known as free trade. Half a century ago this latter was regarded as the last word of capitalism just as imperialism is today.

Free trade became a controlling principle through the predominance of the capitalist industry of England. Great Britain was to be the workshop of the world and the world was to be one mighty agrarian region for the exploitation of England, to take England's products and furnish England the necessary raw materials and means of sustenance.

But this beautiful dream came quickly to an end. * * * Agrarian states constantly tend to build up their own industry. At first it was the countries of Western Europe and the Eastern states of America which went through this phase and became competitors against England. They opposed English free trade with their tariff systems. Their idea was to divide the advantages of trade with the agrarian regions of the world among the great industrial powers. England had to defend herself against this movement, and this was the beginning of imperialism.

Imperialism was especially fostered by the system of investing capital in agrarian countries. Railroads were built to develop the resources of thinly populated regions. To protect these and insure their operation it was necessary to have governments which could and would look after the interests of the capitalists. The home governments of the

capitalists naturally served these purposes most efficiently. These remarks apply also to extensive investments looking to the development of mines or any other source of wealth.

So there developed with the tendency to export capital to agrarian lands the effort to reduce these lands to a state of political dependence.

Another element in the situation operated in the same direction. It has already been noted that there is a tendency in every agrarian region to develop independent industry. In case a country in which foreign capital has been invested is able to develop its own industry and maintain its political independence the benefit of the foreign capitalists is only temporary, as in the United States and Russia. Instead of furnishing raw materials and a market for finished products such a land soon becomes a competitor. This fact becomes a strong motive tending to force the capitalists to attempt to make the new lands dependent, either as colonies or as parts of a sphere of influence. Through the impeding of industry by means of unfavorable legislation they hope to keep them agrarian.

These are the chief roots of imperialism.

We have seen that imperialism replaced free trade as a means of capitalist expansion. This brings us face to face with an important problem: Is imperialism the final form of capitalist world politics, or are we to look for still another? In other words, is imperialism the only means of maintaining the necessary relation between industry and agriculture within the limits of the capitalist system?

There is no doubt as to the answer. The construction of railways, the exploitation of mines, the increased production of raw materials and means of life have become necessary to the continued existence of capitalism. The capitalist class will not commit suicide; no capitalist party will be willing to surrender with regard to these things. The effort to conquer agrarian regions, to reduce their populations to slavery, is too vital to the very life of capitalism to render possible the serious opposition of any

capitalist group. The subjection of these lands will cease only when their populations or the working class of the great industrial countries becomes strong enough to call a halt.

This phase of imperialism is only to be conquered by Socialism.

But imperialism has another phase. The effort to subdue and hold agrarian regions has given rise to serious conflicts between the great capitalist powers. These conflicts brought about the tremendous competition in armaments which has finally resulted in the long-prophesied world-war. Is this phase of imperialism necessary to the continued existence of capitalism? Will it disappear only with capitalism itself?

There is no economic necessity for the continuation of the great competition in the production of armaments after the close of the present war. At best such a continuation would serve the interests of only a few capitalist groups.

On the contrary capitalist industry is threatened by the conflicts between the various governments. Every far-sighted capitalist must call out to his associates: Capitalists of all lands unite!

In the first place we have to consider the growing opposition of the more developed agricultural regions, which threatens not only one or the other of the capitalist governments, but all of them together. This refers both to the awakening of eastern Asia and India and to the pan-Islamite movement of Asia Minor and northern Africa.

In the same category is the increasing opposition of the proletariat of industrial nations to additional taxes.

To all this was added after the close of the Balkan war the fact that the cost of armaments and colonial expansion reached such a point that the accumulation of capital was threatened, and so the very basis of imperialism was placed in danger.

Industrial accumulation in the interior did still go on, thanks to technical development of industry. But capital was no longer pushing itself into foreign fields. This is proved by the fact that European governments had difficulty in floating their loans. The rate of interest was constantly rising.

Here are figures showing prices paid during ten years:

	Three per cent Imperial Loan	Three per cent French Bonds
1905	89	99
1910	85	97
1912	80	92
1914	77	83

This will grow worse rather than better after the war if the increase in armaments continues to make its demands on the money market. Imperialism is digging its own grave. Instead of developing capitalism it has become a means of hindering it.

But this is not equivalent to saying that capitalism is at the end of its tether. So long as it is possible for the capitalism of the old countries to provide a sufficient expansion of agricultural domain it can go on developing. It may, to be sure, be shattered by an uprising of the working-class. But until it has exhausted the resources of the agricultural regions which it can make subsidiary to its activities it will not necessarily perish in an economic cataclysm.

Such economic bankruptcy would be hastened by a continuation of the present imperialist policy. This policy cannot be carried on much longer.

If imperialism were necessary to the continued existence of the capitalist method of production these arguments against it would make little impression on the capitalist mind. But they will make a deep impression if imperialism is only one among several means of achieving this object.

We can say of imperialism what Marx said of capitalism: Monopoly creates competition and competition creates monopoly.

The violent competition of great concerns led to the formation of trusts and the destruction of small concerns. Just so there may develop in the present war a combination of the stronger nations which will put an end to the competitive building of armaments.

From a purely economic point of view, therefore, it is not impossible that capitalism is now to enter upon a new phase, a phase marked by the transfer of trust

methods to international politics, a sort of super-imperialism. The working-class would be forced to fight this new form of capitalism as it did the old, but the danger from it would lie in a new direction.

This analysis was completed before Austria surprised us with her ultimatum to Servia. The conflict between these two nations did not result from imperialistic tendencies alone. In eastern Europe nationalism still plays a role as a revolutionary force and the present conflict has a nationalist as well as an imperialist cause. Austria attempted to carry out an imperialist policy; she annexed Bosnia and appeared to be on the point of bringing Albania within her sphere of influence. Through these activities she roused the nationalist spirit of Servia, which felt itself threatened by Austria and thus became a danger to the Austrian government.

The world-war was brought on, not because imperialism was necessary to Austria, but because Austria, on account of the peculiarity of its organization, endangered itself through following an imperialist policy. Such a policy can be successfully followed only by a state which is internally united and which has for its field of operations a region far behind it in civilization. But in this case a state divided against itself, a state half Slavic in population, attempted to carry out an imperialist policy at the expense of a Slavic neighbor state which is quite the equal in civilization of the adjacent parts of its imperialistic enemy.

Such a policy could bring down upon us such terrible results only through the conflicts of interest between other great powers which had been fostered by imperialism. Not all the consequences of the present struggle are yet apparent. It may lead to an increase of armaments. In this case the peace which will follow will be only in the nature of truce. But from a purely economic point of view there is nothing to hinder its resulting in a Holy Alliance of imperialists. The longer the war lasts, the more it exhausts all participants, the nearer we shall approach the latter solution, no matter how improbable it may appear at present.

(Translated by William E. Bohn)

THE WAR AND THE JAPANESE

By S. Katayama

JAPAN is in the hands of the jingoistic party headed by the president of the Japan Peace Society, Premier Count Okuma. The supporters of the Bureaucratic party have demanded an increase in the army to recover their lost influence and have declared war on Germany.

The Japanese navy is only too glad of an opportunity to fight with anybody in order to wipe out the stains of the recent navy scandals. Thus Japan is again dragged into a meaningless war although she has not yet recovered from the Russo-Jap war.

The best elements of the Japanese people are opposed to the war. The *Oriental Economist*, a thrice-monthly economic and political paper, widely read in Japan, has flatly opposed the war and declared those advocating it as enemies to the best interests of Japan. It said the true mission of Japan was to keep peace in the far east at this time.

The parliament has voted 50,000,000 yen since war was declared (\$25,000,000). But it will cost many more millions. The press, as might be expected, is declaring that war was inevitable because of Japan's defensive and offensive alliance with England. They also claim that Japan must avenge the move of Germany at the close of the Chino-Jap war twenty years ago, when Russia, France and Germany compelled Nippon to return the Lio Yang peninsula to China.

It was really Russia that compelled this move. But today Japanese military authorities have nothing to say of the part played then by France or Russia.

The truth of the matter is that our old bureaucrats want to increase the army and navy to give them a firmer grip on the necks of the Japanese people.

It is reported that the high military authorities intend to experiment in this

war with many new arms and new tactics of war so that both soldiers and, sometimes, our officers, are to be used just like so many live mice, rabbits and dogs at the Rockefeller Institute.

"Don't kill a soldier in capturing Kiao Chow" has become one of the demands of the Japanese people. We have an old saying, "Don't whip a dog that is lying down." In Japan's military operations against Germany today the people regard the war in much the same light. They do not think it is courageous or even moral to attack a weaker party which has little chance for success. It is a national trait to see the Japanese backing a war against a stronger or even a much bigger nation than we are.

Of course Japan is suffering in many ways because of the wars. Some of our industries shut down because of lack of European supplies while others closed up because of lack of business. Of course thousands of people are out of work. The price of silk has fallen 50 and 60 per cent. The prices of cocoons went so low that many small farmers could not pay the cost of mulberry leaves to feed the worms.

During the Russo-Jap war the Socialists in Japan accomplished some very good anti-war propaganda, but we are permitted to do nothing this time. A big fight is coming later on appropriations for the army and navy. If the bureaucratic party wins, the Japanese Socialists will be still further oppressed; while if the opposition is victorious, they may enjoy a few more liberties. By M. S. Katayama. (Comrade Katayama left Japan a short time ago to attend the International Socialist Congress in Vienna. He is now working among the Japanese in California.)



FRENCH SOLDIERS IN THE TRENCHES NEAR SOISSON.

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MILITARISM AND SOCIALISM

An Analysis of the Factors That Led European Socialists to Support the War

By HARRY USWALD

AS a speaker for the party organization, I have addressed many meetings in the last few weeks,—the subject-matter of my talk relating mainly to the war in Europe.

I have tried to show that the cause of the murderous conflict was not the desire to preserve civilization, to oppose militarism or uphold national honor; that the bloody battles were being fought not on account of religious or racial hatreds or national antagonisms.

Using the commonly accepted theories of Socialism as a basis for the argument, I explained that all modern wars were caused by commerce—by the desire of rival capitalist groups to dominate the foreign markets of the world; that this insatiable greed for dividends and profits results in bitter competition between the merchants and manufacturers of the different nations, and that their intense commercial clashes develop ultimately into armed conflicts, and finally into universal war.

I demonstrated how the ruling classes of Europe, in order to protect their vast economic interests, had built up tremendous military machines and naval armaments. I pointed out how the labor unions and the Socialist parties had constantly fought militarism and the crushing burdens of war preparations. Socialism, I asserted, stood for peace and protection; capitalism, for war, disaster and death!

Invariably after I had concluded my speech, and opened the meeting to questions, I was asked: Why don't the Socialists practice what they preach?

Why do they say that they are opposed to the spirit of nationalism when their actions in Europe prove the contrary?

Why do they assert they do not believe in patriotism when their leaders are now calling upon the people to join the army and fight for their country?

Why, instead of murdering their fellow-workingmen, don't they revolt, para-

lyze the government and stop the war?

Why do the European Socialists denounce militarism, and then urge every one into the battle lines?

If the capitalists are responsible for the war, and it is true the fight is being waged solely for the sake of profit, why do the working class leaders call upon the masses to take up arms in behalf of their masters?

If the European Socialists are right in the stand they have taken, then you, here, must uphold and advocate patriotism, nationalism, robbery and murder. Why don't you do it?

If the attitude of the European Socialists is wrong, why don't you denounce them? Why don't you take steps to make them adhere to internationalism and solidarity?

These are a few of the questions that have been asked. They show that the people have begun to think. Unanimously they are opposed to the war, but they are surprised—many of them are horrified—that the Socialists, who have always posed as the chief upholders of the propaganda of peace,—who for so many years preached a wonderful doctrine of brotherly love, now at a crisis, relinquish all their theories and principles, and aid the capitalists in their terrible, blood-thirty carnival of patriotism and slaughter!

I have tried to answer the questions to the satisfaction of the audience.

Temporarily, the principles of international Socialism were vindicated, and possible converts and sympathetic citizens went away feeling that Socialism still stood for peace, and capitalism for murder.

But while my listeners were satisfied, I was not.

For weeks past a heavy cloud of doubt has hung over my head. I have been thinking. I have been considering the sneering and cynical questions hurled forth from the depths of the crowd.

I have looked at every side of the matter and have reached certain definite conclusions. I have excluded prejudices, and formulated my ideas; and I desire to know if the majority of the comrades agree or disagree with me.

I want to know what I can consistently and conscientiously tell my audiences. I hate hypocrisy. I despise double dealing. I admire frankness. When I am asked: Are the Socialists of Europe right or wrong, what shall I answer?

The speakers of the party are bound to uphold the ideas of the organization. They are pledged to advocate the principles enunciated in its platform. They are required to answer all questions concerning the interests of the working class. In the absence of a special and definite declaration by the party; in the absence of any official or authoritative action by the majority, the speakers of the party are forced to state its attitude on all questions of public moment.

Temporarily, the speakers become the party. Their ideas become, to the people, the ideas of the organization. The political aggregate is responsible for their individual utterances.

It is urgently essential, then, that the speakers do not contradict one another. It is absolutely necessary that their explanations be alike. Otherwise confusion will arise in the public mind, and our propaganda will be made ridiculous by its glaring inconsistencies.

Uncontrolled by party decision, one speaker may justify a petty and criminal nationalism. One may advocate a broad spirit of international brotherhood. A third may denounce only such military policies as are aggressive. Another may plead the necessity of strong defensive measures. Prejudices will arise. Racial and national antagonisms will be vented as doctrines of the party. Hence the danger! Hence the reason of this article.

I shall express my views. I want the comrades to express theirs. I desire the party to take action!

Internationalism

Do we believe in the solidarity of the workers of the world?

Do we look forward to the brotherhood of humanity?

Do we desire the elimination of all barriers—national, religious and racial?

These questions can all be answered in the affirmative,—but only in a theoretical sense.

Considered practically,—and using the actions and tactics of our European comrades as a basis for judgment, we are sorrowfully and reluctantly forced to admit, that while we may *believe* in the idea of internationalism, the thought proves to be only a utopian *unreality* when we are tested. Then we *support* nationalism.

For years it had been our proudest boast that Socialism would make war impossible. In innumerable leaflets, in countless pamphlets, in our party press, from our street platforms, we have laughed at the capitalists and political rulers of Europe.

We congratulated ourselves upon our strength and our spirit of solidarity. We looked upon the increasing forces of Socialism. We saw the labor unions grow stronger and stronger every year. With delighted eyes we read the election returns, showing the tremendous increases in the Socialist vote.

The parliaments of Europe were invaded. The Socialist representation doubled and tripled. Reform measures were forced from unwilling governments. The general condition of the working masses was gradually improved.

With smug self-satisfaction we counted 4,500,000 Socialist voters in Germany, 1,500,000 in Austria, 1,600,000 in France, 900,000 in Italy, 500,000 in England, and countless hundreds of thousands in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Russia.

We gloried in our numbers. We boasted of our power. We jeered at the capitalists, the bankers, the land owners and the rulers.

We held international congresses. We exchanged fraternal greetings. We aided one another in times of strike—in times of hunger.

When the English miners laid down their picks, and the transport toilers left their work, we sent food, clothing and

money to help them win their fight. Every unionist in Europe aided them in the struggle.

When the German workers went on strike, every worker on the continent rallied to their support. Loyally they assisted in feeding the hungry, clothing the ragged, and sheltering the homeless, until the battle was over.

When the Swedish workers were engaged in a titanic conflict with their employers and the general strike was proclaimed,—they were financially supported by every labor union and Socialist party organization of Europe. To a man, the working class of every nation responded to the relief of the embattled toilers.

We looked upon these glorious evidences of our international solidarity, and we smiled contentedly.

Time after time when the criminal publicity organs of the capitalists were urging and discussing a war between England and Germany, the Socialists of both countries exchanged fraternal greetings, and jeered at the murderous machinations of the merchants and politicians . . . and there was no war!

When the storm clouds hung over Germany and France on account of the Morocco question, the Socialists of those countries exchanged telegrams regarding the situation, formulated a policy and hindered the military preparations . . . and there was no war!

The Socialists were elated. The capitalists could not plunge the nations into blood and disaster. The diplomacy of labor had won the day. The international solidarity of the working class had again been maintained.

In the palaces the capitalists and the rulers heard our shouts of victory. They saw our marching hosts, and parades symbolic of brotherhood and friendship.

In the libraries they read our grandiloquent pamphlets. They perused our fiery and enthusiastic orations. They lingered over our outbursts of sentimental bombast . . . and they roared with laughter.

He who laughs last, laughs best. They remembered the proverb. They remembered that *they*, and not the workers, were the masters of the earth. They re-

membered that *they*, and not the workers, could maintain peace or declare war.

They knew they had force on their side. They had ignorance to aid them, religion to support them, patriotism to justify them, and above all—the *political policies of the Socialists to assist them in the destruction of the rising power of the masses!*

They waited their time.

The Cause of the War

The storm broke. The volcano burst forth . . . Europe was in the throes of the bloodiest disaster ever recorded in human history.

For years previous the capitalists had been preparing for the conflict.

With the development of the industries of the different nations came a tremendous increase of production.

The wages of the workers of Europe were unable to buy back the enormous amount of commodities they had produced.

Unable to sell their goods in their own countries, the capitalists were forced to seek foreign markets. These markets were chiefly nations that were not industrially developed.

Each of the larger European countries had a huge export trade. Their merchants fought to sell their wares. Competition arose. They underbid one another. They cut into each other's profits. They waged a relentless war of economic extermination.

The Japanese manufacturers struggled with the Russian manufacturers; the English and the French with the German traders. Now the English would extend their sphere of influence, and reap fabulous profits out of the conflict; now the Japanese would succeed; now the Germans.

The capitalists of each nation appealed to their governments for support,—for military and naval assistance in dominating the market.

The Russian-Japanese war is an illustration of the results of commercial rivalry.

In Europe the kings, czars, emperors and presidents, controlled by the financial interests, were arming for the inevitable fight.

German trade was the largest. Its capitalists had the most at stake; hence the enormous expenditures for military and naval purposes.

The governments of Russia, Austria, France and Italy kept pace with these preparations. And England spent more than all—particularly upon its maritime armament.

The archduke of Austria, heir to the throne, was assassinated. The spark was lit,—the flame ignited. The excuse had been furnished.

The Austrian bureaucracy accused the Servian government of instigating the murder. The Servian authorities denied the accusation.

The reply was not satisfactory. Austria declared war on Servia.

Russia immediately began mobilizing and massing its troops on the Austrian and German frontiers.

Germany demanded an explanation. The replies were evasive. Germany declared war on Russia.

The capitalist-controlled government of liberal France, bound by bloody diplomatic ties to despotic Russia, began preparation to assist its ally.

Germany declared war on France and hurried its battalions through Belgium. The Belgians resisted and called upon England for help; and the capitalists of that country, who had eagerly awaited the request, responded immediately. War was declared on Germany.

All Europe rocked in the roar of conflict.

The Position of the Socialists

Where were the Socialists? What were they saying? What were they doing? Where was their vaunted strength,—their solidarity? Where was internationalism? Where was the lauded general strike? Where was revolution?

When the war clouds hovered over Austria and Servia our comrades were intensely active.

Huge mass meetings were held protesting against the impending war. The people paraded thro' the streets denouncing militarism. Our newspapers warned the blood maddened rulers. They threatened them with the anger of the aroused workers.

Our representatives in the various par-

liaments did their utmost to induce their governments to stay out of the general conflict.

They talked and they shouted. They protested and they demanded. They paraded with revolutionary banners. They sang the "Internationale," and—that was all!

When war was declared, and their governments ordered them to mobilize, they mobilized!

When they were commanded to march, they marched!

When they were told to shoot, they shot!

In a moment, ten million intelligent, peace-loving workingmen had become ten million brutal, savage murderers!

In an instant ten million men who were opposed to patriotism, opposed to nationalism, opposed to capitalism, had become ten million men eager to fight for national honor, eager to defend *their* country's integrity,—eager to assist their treacherous masters in shedding the blood of their fellow workingmen!

How could such a horrible change occur so suddenly? What made possible this terrible phenomenon of inconsistency?

How could these educated and organized workingmen so soon forget their sacred bonds,—their blood-sealed pledges of international solidarity?

There is only one explanation. And I give it despite the storm of opposition it will arouse, and despite the denunciations of those who hate to see the truth exposed.

I assert that the responsibility for the fact that millions of Socialists have forsaken the principles of internationalism and are now butchering one another like blood-thirsty cannibals, rests not so much on the political and industrial masters of Europe as it does upon the political policies and tactics pursued by the Socialist parties of Europe!

I assert that the participation of the Socialists in the conflict followed as a natural and logical result of the political measures they were constantly advocating. Let me present my evidence.

Reform and Compromise

The Socialists of Europe early realized that it was impossible to overthrow capi-

talism suddenly. They knew it could not be accomplished by a single blow.

Revolution, to their minds, was impractical. The lines of evolution, however, could be easily followed.

Reforms could be urged and insisted upon. Measures to relieve the poverty and wretchedness of the working masses were advocated and fought for, until granted.

In fact, most of the issues upon which the Socialists waged their battles were purely reformistic, and not revolutionary, in character. They were framed *not to overthrow the capitalist system, but to maintain it*; to lessen its horrors; to decrease its evil effects upon the people, but, still, in the ultimate, to *prolong it!*

So urgently and persistently was this struggle for political, industrial and social reforms fought that quite often the ultimate object of Socialism was lost sight of.

The attention of the masses was fastened upon reform instead of revolution, and the people were quite often led to believe that issues of trifling moment were matters of the utmost importance.

The doctrine that if a whole loaf could not be secured, a half, or a quarter, or even an eighth of a loaf, was good, under the circumstances, was constantly poured into the ears of the protesting slaves, until they were thoroughly hypnotized and accepted it as a permanent policy.

Compromise became the rule in all our political organizations.

Alliances were formed with capitalist parties of radical tendencies. Bargains were made whereby believers in capitalism voted for believers in Socialism, and believers in Socialism voted for believers in capitalism!

The people were led to believe that occasionally they *could join their opponents* on certain issues.

Their minds were trained to accept the idea that while capitalism was evil, certain sections of the capitalist class were not as bad as reported.

Our Attitude Toward Armaments

Eliminating from our present consideration the various reforms—social, political and economic—which were repeatedly urged by the Socialist Parties of Europe,

and considering only their attitude concerning militarism, the subject under discussion, we find that *most of our organizations did not advocate the abolition of the armies and navies of their countries; they did not demand the entire elimination of military expenditures.*

They evidently thought that this was too strong and too revolutionary a demand.

They believed it was impossible of attainment. Instead they preached reform.

In place of *compulsory service*, they urged *voluntary enlistment*.

In place of a *huge standing army*, they pleaded for a *citizen militia*.

In other words, they argued that instead of having a tremendous war machine that crushed the workers with the burden of its support, they desired a citizen soldiery.

This would be practically an inexpensive body. The load of taxes would be "lifted from the toiling masses."

Summed up, then, their position implied that instead of a *huge and costly militarism*, they wanted a *weak and less expensive militarism!*

But let this fact be noted, that whether they urged a small army instead of a large one, a cheap army instead of a costly one, voluntary service, instead of compulsory service, they stood, by that very action and demand, irrevocably committed to a military system, and eventually, to war!

When the debate regarding the granting of money for military purposes arose in the Reichstag recently, the Socialists *did not vote against* the measure. They were only opposed to placing the additional burdens upon the backs of the workers. When the wily politicians of capitalism shifted the load upon the pockets of the landowners and merchants, then *the Socialists voted for the bill—voted for the continuation of militarism!*

When a few months ago the question of increasing the length of compulsory service from two to three years came up in the French Chamber of Deputies, our comrades, instead of *urging the abolition of compulsory service, voted for the two-year term*, as the lesser of the choice of evils. In other words, *they voted for the maintenance of militarism!*

Well might the rulers of Europe laugh at the simplicity and naive hypocrisy of the Socialists!

Well might they relish the success of their crafty diplomacy!

Here were millions of men who imagined they were battling *against* militarism, and the capitalists had hypnotized their representatives into voting *for* militarism!

It mattered not to the ruling class that the Socialists had voted for a weaker and less expensive form of militarism, the main point was that they *had supported it!*

So long as the heads of the masses were still filled with militaristic ideas; so long as they thought that *three years' service was bad, but two years' service good; that a huge standing army was evil, but a strong citizen soldiery essential*, the rulers were satisfied.

They, themselves, could not have trained the minds of the people any better. The workers' state of psychological delusion fitted well with the murderous plans of the masters.

Patriotism

Repeatedly accused by their political opponents of being anti-patriotic, and enemies of their own country; taunted with being traitors that desired their nation to be crushed by its commercial rivals, the *Socialists indignantly replied that they were not the foes of their country, and that if it were threatened by a foreign power, they would rush to its defense—nay, they would shed their very life blood to preserve it!*

In flaming editorials, in brilliant orations, the Socialist leaders constantly reaffirmed their position. We are opposed to aggressive military preparations. *We are opposed to attacking other powers for the sake of the profits of the capitalist class. We are, however, in favor of self-protection. We uphold all measures tending to national defense, and if our nation is threatened we will be the first to protect it from danger!*

"If our country is attacked," shouted our representatives in the various parliaments, "we will be the first to shoulder our guns and save it."

Such was the military policy of the

Socialists in practically every country of Europe.

They opposed aggressive preparations. They favored defensive measures.

The prominent leaders of our movement trained the masses to accept this view. In other words, *they inoculated the people with the horrible and poisonous virus of patriotism—of national defense!*

Such was the training, such was the education, such were the feelings and tactics of the Socialists. They would not go to war *except for national defense.*

"For national defense!" What music to the ears of the money-maddened capitalists! It was not a phrase—it was a power! The power to hurl the working class at one another's throats—in the interests of the profit-takers!

National Defense

War was declared. The Austrian bureaucracy shouted: The Servians, aided by Russia, are undermining our nation. They have assassinated our rulers. They have attacked our country. We are in danger. We must defend ourselves!

The Servian authorities proclaimed the fact that Austria was seeking to destroy the nation. They called upon every man to rise and defend his native land!

The Russian government asserted Austria was bent on dealing it a crushing blow. The country was in danger. The people must rise in self-defense.

The German militarists roared: Our homes are threatened. Our trade is menaced. Our civilization is endangered. We will be butchered by the Russian barbarians. To arms! Let us defend the fatherland. "Deutschland, Deutschland, ueber alles!"

The Belgian authorities shrieked: The Germans are beginning to march through our territory. Our liberties are assailed. Our homes are violated. Our national integrity is threatened. We must rise and defend ourselves!

The ruling murderers of France also shouted: Germany is marching upon us. Our cities will be crushed. Our people will be slaughtered. Our freedom will disappear. Autocracy will rule. To arms! In self-defense! La patrie est en danger!

And the brutal beasts that control the English government joined in the blood-thirsty chorus: We will be overwhelmed by a military despotism, they shrieked. The Germans intend to strike their heaviest blows at us. They intend to destroy our trade and take our lives. This is not a war in which we are the aggressors. It is a war in which we must protect our very homes. We must defend our nation and our liberties. We must fight in self-defense!

Self-defense became the battle cry. The masters called upon their slaves, and their slaves responded. In a day millions of workers had been turned into soldiers, eager to maim and murder their fellow-beings.

Patriotism had triumphed. Nationalism had conquered. International solidarity was crushed—and slaughter became the policy of those who were supposedly opposed to slaughter!

It was the logical and inevitable result!

The policy of compromise had justified war as long as the ruling class could give the hypocritical excuse of self-defense.

Have the Workers Any Country?

Could the Socialists have prevented the war? They could!

Why were they so willing to fight and die for *their* country? Did they not know that *the workers, no matter where they were born, had no country?*

How often had our philosophers, our statisticians, our writers and our orators proven that the workers—those who produced all the wealth of the nation—had no share in its ownership except their wages. They did not own the land where they were born and dwell. They did not own the mills, the mines, and the factories where they worked.

Germany was not in possession of all the German people. It belongs to a few of the German people—to the landlords, the merchants, the bankers, the manufacturers, and the aristocracy.

The workers owned nothing but their bodies, their muscles, their rags, their furniture—that was all!

Why, then, did not the German workers realize that not they, but their masters, were the owners of the fatherland?

And, if they would not lay down their

lives for their brutal rulers in time of peace, what horrible, diabolical spirit urged them to sacrifice themselves like sheep as soon as their criminal masters shouted: War!

Did not the workers of France know that the land of France did not belong to them, but to the capitalists? Did they not realize they were taking up arms, not in defense of their possessions, but in defense of their masters' property?

Similar questions could be asked of the Belgian, English, Russian and Austrian workers.

If they were Socialists, as they professed to be, they knew they were exploited, disinherited and propertyless. . . . That they had no flag, no country, no rights!

Preserving Civilization

The German Socialists say they were justified in taking up arms against the Russians. They wanted to preserve *their culture, their civilization* against the barbarism of the Slav. They wanted to protect *their wonderful institutions and democratic government* from the political despotism of the savage Russians.

The French Socialists pleaded that their reason for murdering their working class brothers was their passionate and undying desire to save *their liberal institutions* from the autocratic militarism of the Teuton!

The Belgians offered the same excuse; and the English Socialists not to be outdone in hypocrisy, proclaim that the reason they favored the war was their earnest desire to defend democracy from the baneful domination of German bureaucracy!

If we are to judge according to nationalistic prejudices, and, for the moment, accept the views advanced by our German comrades, then the English, French, Belgian and Russian Socialists must be horribly wrong; and must be engaged in a criminal and unholy war against the best that human civilization has yet produced.

If the declarations of the English, French, Belgian and Russian comrades are true, then the Socialists of Germany and Austria are, in a great measure, responsible for the most terrible butchery ever recorded in human history!

Who is right? Who is wrong?

What wonderful institutions, what remarkable civilization had the Germans to fight for?

Was it for the three-class system of voting? Was it for the state controlled railroads and mines? Or for the capitalist controlled lands, factories and mills? For the tenements they slept in? For the galling poverty that lay heavy upon them? For the raggedness, wretchedness and starvation they suffered? For the periods of unemployment that threw them like dogs into the streets? Were they fighting for that? Was it this murderous, degrading civilization they were trying to preserve?

And the French, why were they shooting and bayonetting? . . . To preserve freedom? Freedom! The freedom to slave? The freedom to be hungry? The freedom to be maimed in industrial accidents? The freedom to send tiny children into the fields and the factories? The freedom to permit their daughters to sell their bodies for bread? Were those the glorious and liberal institutions they were trying to maintain? Is that why they were murdering the Germans?

Were the people of France, with all their art, their science, their culture, their music, and their political liberalism, any happier, any healthier, any more prosperous than their brothers of Germany, who lived under the rule of a crushing autocracy?

Did they eat more? Did they wear finer clothing? Did they live in better homes?

Liberty is a wonderful word, but a word can not fill a stomach, neither can bureaucracy empty it! *Under capitalism, both must give the workers enough to enable them to toil and make profits for their masters!*

The Belgian Socialists said they did not want military domination by Germany. *Did they prefer the slimy hypocrisy of clerical domination?* The priests controlled the government of their country. Were the Socialists fighting to preserve their rule?

And the English comrades shouted: We are fighting to preserve our democracy—our civilization!

Nowhere in the world is there as much biting poverty, as much abject misery, as much raggedness, hunger and unem-

ployment as in that land of alleged democratic rule. Was that the civilization the English Socialists advised the workers to lay down their lives for?

It makes no difference what country the wage workers live in. They are slaves in all. To them, one nation is no better than another.

Nowhere in the world is there as much alleged liberty as in the United States. Here we are supposed to be free and equal. Here there is *opportunity for all*, and the *rights of life, liberty and happiness are guaranteed to all citizens.*

Here we have religious, social and political freedom. Here we have *unparalleled democracy*, . . . and who can doubt our *marvelous civilization?*

Yet, of what value are all those high-sounding sentences to us of the working class?

Do we not know that we have no political liberties? Do we not realize that there is *no opportunity?* Do we not see that there is *no social equality?* Do we not know that *we are industrial chattels?* Do we not work long hours and get low wages? Aren't we wounded and killed in the factories and mines? Aren't our children taken from us by the millions and forced into industry? Aren't our women obliged to sell their bodies in order to exist? Aren't we robbed of the greater part of our product? Aren't we jailed or shot down whenever we protest? Aren't we always poor—just like our fellow slaves of Europe?

What difference would it make to the workers of Belgium if the German government dominated them, instead of the Belgian authorities?

What difference would it make to the Germans if the British controlled their nation?

Was the condition of the factory and field slaves of Alsace-Lorraine any worse under German rule than under French rule? Was it any better?

Would the condition of the laboring masses of the United States be any less horrible if the nation were governed as a colony of Great Britain?

Are we happier and better off when American criminals rule and rob us?

The truth is, that conditions are on the average just as bad and oppressive in one country as in another.

It makes no difference what grand, eloquent phrases are used to befuddle us, the fact remains that in *all* nations, whether monarchies, republics or despotisms, the working class is deprived of the greater share of its product—and is enslaved to the capitalist class!

Our enemy is not this country or that country. Our enemy is not this form of government or that form. Our implacable enemy is capitalism. It is that power we must fight, not alone in time of peace, but also in time of war!

Revolution

Could the Socialists have acted otherwise than they did? Could they have prevented the war? A careful analysis of the facts proves that they could. It lay within their power.

There was just one course they could have adopted. It was desperate. It was bloody, but it could have saved millions of lives. It was the only weapon that could have beaten down the murderous clash of militarism. *It was revolution!*

The working masses were organized. They were educated. We had trained and developed ten million class-conscious workers to overthrow capitalism. The same tremendous horde could have been mobilized and ordered to crush militarism!

Impossible! Impracticable! cry the apologists of cowardice. The rulers would have laughed at our threats!

We would have been crushed in a bloody massacre! shout the upholders of hypocrisy.

Any violent attempt at overthrowing the master class would have ended in horrible disaster! scream the blinded adherents of treacherous patriotism.

Instead of being a wild and impractical scheme, it was the *only sane and practical plan* our comrades could have followed. Not only that, but the *brilliant results achieved by the Italian Socialist party, prove that revolution—or the menace of revolution—could be used successfully as a weapon for the benefit of the working class!*

The Italian Socialists, impulsive, emotional, hot-headed, and loosely organized, made use of their power. They threatened a revolution. They organized their forces. They prepared for action.

They demanded that their government

stay out of the conflict. They said they were opposed to war. And they meant every word!

The political and industrial masters of Italy listened to the ominous protests of the people. They saw the flash of anger in their eyes. They saw the nervous, impatient hands that held the scythes and the picks and the hammers. They saw that the workers were ready to lose their lives not *for* war, but *against* war! And they capitulated!

The government of Italy announced its neutrality. Despite its treaties with Germany and Austria—despite all its previous promises and obligations, the monarchy was forced to stand for peace.

Had it decided to aid its allies, there would have been no government left to order the mobilization of the troops.

The Italian Socialists determined to oppose war . . . and there was no war!

Why could not the other Socialist parties of Europe do likewise? Their forces were better organized, better educated, better trained.

In Germany one-third of the soldiery and one-half of the citizenship were Socialists. They had the power. They had the opportunity. They could have saved the working class of the continent from butchery and death.

Instead of expressing their manhood, instead of expressing their courage, instead of expressing their education, instead of expressing their hatred of capitalism, like millions of sheep, they followed the tinkling, deluding bells of their insane leaders, and flocked into the armies, to slaughter and be slaughtered!

It was not even necessary to have an armed revolution. A passive revolt would have been sufficient to paralyze the military machine and prevent war.

Suppose, when the rulers commanded the workers to mobilize, they disobeyed. Suppose they did not take up arms, but simply remained in their homes.

What would have happened?

They would have been rounded up, court-martialed and shot. Granted! But how many would be killed? 2,000? 5,000? 10,000? 20,000? 30,000? 50,000? Agreed! We will not dispute it. . . . But the military murderers could not have gone on indefinitely slaughtering

their own people. The capitalists could not continue butchering the rebels, while other capitalists, with their hordes, threatened their property and their profits. Their organization would become demoralized. Their government would break down and be powerless. They would have to stop slaughtering. They would be forced to conclude terms of peace with their commercial rivals. . . . And the lives of the masses would be preserved. There would be no weeping widows and no fatherless children; at least the number of such would be infinitely reduced.

Thousands of the workers would have perished, nobly and heroically, but millions would have been saved!

Some will deny this accusation hotly. Some will deride the idea of a people revolting and winning. Some will say that the thought is abominable—that the sacrifice would have been horrible and useless, and the plan impractical, nay, the very height of folly!

Then let us ask, What is practical? Joining the army and fighting for the interests of the master-class? Shouting brotherhood and assassinating solidarity? Upholding patriotism and annihilating internationalism? Shooting hot lead into the throbbing bodies of your fellow-workers? Burning and destroying farms, homes and villages? Rushing like sheep into the shambles to butcher and be butchered? . . . Is that practical?

According to figures furnished by military statisticians, *one out of every four men engaged in battle is either killed or wounded*. Before this war is ended, every available worker will have been on the firing lines. It follows, then, that of the 4,500,000 Socialists in Germany, over a million will be maimed or butchered before peace is concluded. Four hundred thousand will be disabled or lose their lives in France. Four hundred thousand will be sacrificed in Austria, and countless hundreds of thousands throughout Russia and the lesser states of Europe.

Enormous armies of men will be ridled with bullets, stabbed with bayonets and mowed down with cannon. And the Socialists, the alleged saviors of humanity, will have aided in accomplishing this horrible result.

Not only have their representatives in

the various parliaments voted the war budgets and agreed to the orders for mobilization, but they have issued repeated appeals to the workers to be patriotic, to fight for *their* country, and repel the barbarous invaders.

Vandervelde's explanation of the attitude of the different Socialist parties proves this assertion.

The parliamentary leaders of England, with a few notable exceptions, including Hardie and Macdonald, have aligned themselves with the criminal capitalists, and have called upon the duped masses to help the ruling class get control of Germany's commerce.

In France, the most violent anti-militarists, the most prominent scholars, deputies, editors and orators, have lined up with the thieves who own and control the nation, and are calling upon the people to butcher their fellow-workers of Germany, and in that unhappy country the greatest and most powerful preachers of the social revolution, the staunchest defenders of peace and humanity, not satisfied with urging their own blinded masses into the slaughter, are also trying to force other nations that desire to remain neutral into the bloody conflict.

Political Expediency

There are some in our ranks who excuse and defend the actions of our European comrades on the ground of political expediency.

They assert that it would have been fatal to the continued existence of our political organizations if they had opposed the war to the extent of revolution.

It is impossible, shout these smooth-tongued apologists of political trickery, to stem the current of an excited public opinion.

When war is declared and the entire mass is swayed by its harried emotions, when it is torn between fear, anger, danger and death; when the newspapers, controlled by the government, are calling upon the people to defend themselves and their homes; when the horrors of the impending disaster are greatly exaggerated, creating a public sentiment favoring war as a method of self-protection, at such a time, they allege, it is extremely unwise to oppose the general feeling. It is then

the height of folly to attack the nationalistic spirit that has been aroused. It means the political extinction of that party which stands against patriotism and war. Hence, argue these shallow sophists, the Socialists were forced into war to save the integrity of their political organizations.

If this statement is true, then is the anarchistic contention also true, that all political parties (no matter how radical or opposed to existing governments) can be depended upon, at a crisis, to help protect and maintain the thieving, murderous rule of capitalism?

If at a supreme moment, political action for the masses resolves itself into political action for the masters, it is about time Socialists gave up the idea of ushering in the co-operative commonwealth by means of political parties.

But the explanation is not true, and the contention not logical. The prompt and radical action of the Italian Socialist Party disproves it.

If capitalism is to be overthrown politically, it must be done by political parties that use ballots as long as feasible, and bullets whenever necessary.

The End of Capitalism

There are some Socialists who profess to believe that the present gigantic conflict marks the end of the capitalist system of production and distribution. They imagine that Socialism is about to sweep over the earth and take its place.

They will be bitterly mistaken.

Capitalism is not dead yet. The war will merely determine which group of the ruling class will control the trade of the world and reap the huge profits therefrom.

The war will not end militarism; it will only increase the pernicious effects of the system.

The successful nation, or nations, will be forced to still further increase the size and strength of their armaments, in order to maintain the advantages they have secured.

The beaten nation, or rather their capitalists, will also be forced, as a matter of self-protection, to enlarge their standing armies and increase the number of their battleships, so that they may not be obliterated as commercial factors.

They will simply be preparing for the next world conflict, which will most likely include the United States.

Little can be expected from the Socialist parties of Europe in their present state of patriotic hypnosis. Socialists here should be very careful in making predictions as to what the comrades of the Continent will do after the war is over.

For they will do, and can do, absolutely nothing!

They will have no arguments to advance against their respective governments, because they have justified and supported the actions of their rulers.

They cannot say that their own political and industrial masses caused the war, and urge the people to overthrow them, because they, themselves, have proclaimed the fact that not *their* governments, but the political and industrial masses of *other* nations were the causing factors of the conflict.

Our Lesson

While the European Socialists are butchering one another for the benefit of the capitalists; while they are violating our cherished principles of solidarity and brotherhood, it is time that we here in the United States examine ourselves, consider our ideas and see where we stand.

If war is declared between Japan and the United States, as it will be declared some day on account of trade rivalries, what will our attitude be?

Will we become patriotic? Will we call upon the workers to defend *their* country? Will we urge them to lay down their lives for the profit of their masters? Will we, on account of political expediency, or through fear of losing votes, line up with our murderous government?

Will we compromise principles and sacrifice our ideals? Will we permit military law to remain on our statute books? Will we allow ourselves to be forced into the army, and shoot our fellow-workers when ordered?

These questions are necessary. A decision must be made. There are a large number of Socialists here who would act exactly as the European comrades have

done, if the circumstances were the same. Is their attitude the attitude of the Socialist Party of the United States? I would like to know. If it is, then all of us who believe in international solidarity must separate from all those who advocate nationalism and murder!

If the Socialist party is not to betray the workers *it must always stand opposed to capitalism and its governments*. There can be no compromise or there will be disaster.

Anti-patriotism, anti-militarism and anti-nationalism must become cardinal points in our propaganda for peace. We

must work for the abolition of the army, the navy and the militia.

We must not be cowards. We must prepare. We must take action!

An armed citizenship is a free citizenship. We must be armed with knowledge. We must be armed with union. We must be armed with votes—and, when necessary, with guns! We must not wait until the capitalists plunge us into the horrors of hell. We must organize the membership. We must strengthen our hearts with the spirit of international solidarity. We must stand ready. And when capitalism declares war, we must declare the revolution!

Neo-Malthusianism in America

By CAROLINE NELSON

DOZENS of letters have come to me since I wrote the letter in the March number of the REVIEW inquiring about the preventives. When I wrote the letter I was in Europe and unfamiliar with Uncle Sam's laws on that subject. So I waited until I arrived in the United States in answering any of the letters. On reaching New York I found that a Dr. Elliot was in the penitentiary for answering two decoy letters on the very same subject. He got ten years, and a heavy fine for his goodness in answering a supposed poor woman that begged helplessly for the information. I had no means of knowing how many decoy letters were among my letters. I picked out a few of those that addressed me as "Comrade" and asked them to identify themselves either by their red cards or some other way, but none of them did so. I suspect that a great many detectives used the name "comrade" to catch me, which the real comrades had to suffer for, as they did not get an answer. I had no desire to go to the "pen" to give a few people the information.

In the mean time Margaret Sanger of New York was in Europe at the same time, being a good rebel she looked up everything of interest to the workers, including Neo-Malthusianism. She hurried back to her native country, bound to inform the workers on this subject,

and accordingly started the *Woman Rebel*, through which she began to educate the women. She hoped to get up a strong sentiment in the favor of birth control among the workers throughout the nation, so that this foolish law, which no other civilized country has, would become obsolete, to enable the circulation of this knowledge.

But the state and federal officers, while they are careless on many other lines about the enforcing of the laws, and often stand by the rich law-breakers to smite the workers, they are ever watchful when it comes to the real interest of the ruling class. And it is certainly of vital importance for the employing class to have plenty of workers—plenty to stand outside the factory door to beg for jobs. This is the most efficient club to keep down the workers that work and to keep them from organizing. Hence, here the state and federal laws must be rigidly enforced, while they don't care what happens to them in Colorado in the mines, where the Rockefeller interests can violate the laws every day. And the state and federal forces protect them, while they are doing it, when the miners strike to have the laws enforced that are passed in their interest. It all depends on who is who in the eye of the law.

The United States could hardly show

its class favoritism any stronger than in this law passed for the suppression of this information, about eight years ago. The upper class women in the United States are notorious race suiciders, and have been for years. But when the upper class heard that the French working class had become as well informed on the subject, as the upper classes, and that France suffered correspondingly for lack of child-workers and women workers in the factories, the American governmental machinery was immediately set in motion to come forth with laws that were rushed through by the vested tools that sit in congress.

And the ever faithful and virtuous Roosevelt sailed out as an anti-race suicider. It suddenly became honorable to have large families, while the upper classes had openly jeered and pointed to the workers with large families as people—that breed like animals. Useless to say that the upper classes have refused the honor of bringing large families into

the world. They are still race-suiciders, and get the information on preventive means through their doctors, nurses and druggists. Secretly they laugh at the law and the foolish workers, while the abortionists by hundreds ply their trade throughout the land, and incidentally fill the hospitals with their victims.

All this while detectives followed Margaret Sanger about in New York and the court indicted her on three counts for the crime of trying to inform people about the danger of abortion, and the crime of large families among the workers, etc. Now, Mrs. Sanger, who by the way has three lusty children of her own, is apt to get a year's sentence on each count. What have the workers to say to this? They ought to show their interest at least by subscribing for Mrs. Sanger's paper—*The Woman Rebel*, \$1.00 per year, and by getting up Neo-Malthusian clubs and lectures. Margaret Sanger is a pioneer in a great cause. Address No. 34 Post ave., New York City.

FEWER AND BETTER CHILDREN

By James Morton

ONE has only to walk down in the Lower East Side in New York, or down Halsted street in Chicago, or in the congested working districts in any large city to be filled with wonder that no organization has seriously undertaken the propaganda of Fewer and Better Children for America.

I am reminded of my friend, a painter, who married a lovely girl in the middle west and moved into a cozy cottage in the suburbs of a thriving city. Two years later he removed his wife and their year-old son to a flat "nearer the Loop." The next time I met him, I found he had stepped down another rung on the ladder of comfort and was dwelling, with his wife, his son and his baby daughter, in a tiny flat close to the west side factory district.

And so it went. With the advent of each new baby my old friend moved his growing brood into smaller and dingier quarters, until when I last visited him,

he and his wife and their seven children were existing in three small rooms, half of a six-room flat, which they shared with an equally impecunious member of the Building Trades, the demands of whose offspring had long since exceeded the elasticity of his weekly wage.

Here are two glaring examples of the crime of having too many children. In both instances the weekly wage of the fathers was sufficient to bring up a family of one or two children in a modicum of comfort. The parents would have been able to send them to school, to live in tolerably healthful surroundings, to provide them with the simple necessities and comforts of life. In both cases the first two children born to these working class parents were normal and healthy. The third and fourth babies were born before they had recovered from the strain of the first two.

The fathers of these families were slightly in debt to doctors and nurses,

were anxious and worn with helping to care for the first children. The mothers were weak and anemic from nursing and child-bearing. The prospect of Baby Number Three was a most unwelcome one from the financial, hygienic and parental point of view. Instead of moving to a home with better air, and sunshine, and more room, these two trade workers were compelled to rent smaller, less healthful and sanitary quarters. They were able to pay **less** rent as their families grew. They were forced to buy cheaper food, poorer clothing. Grim necessity prevented the purchase of the special infant's food the babies required.

None of the babies that were born into these two working class families thereafter were either normal or healthy. All were below normal in size, weight and powers of resistance to disease. Three died. After the birth of her third baby, the wife of my friend never actually recovered to normal health and was never able to afford the medical care she needed for herself and her children.

Actual want forced the parents in both families to take their eldest children from school and start them to work before they were twelve or thirteen years of age. Love, hope and all the things that go to make "home life" a beautiful thing were lost in the stern fight against pain and privation. Making-ends-meet sapped the last ounce of energy from fathers and mothers. Family courtesies and amenities require a leisure, a poise and peace that nobody possessed or could possess in a year-long effort to make one dollar do the work of two.

One man took to drink; one of the mothers died at the age of thirty-six in child-birth. All of the children are entering the battle of life with handicaps they will never be able to overcome in the struggle for existence.

It seems to me that nobody can deny that the revolutionary labor movement undoubtedly lost three or four confessed rebels through the short-sightedness and ignorance of these young couples.

We know, positively, that one young mother was lost at an early age in giving birth to her seventh child; that six children were thereby left without a mother's care; that the father endeavored to

pay for their support in a public institution but finally succumbed to despair through lack of steady employment, and disappeared.

Here was one family disrupted, broken up beyond all hope of mending through the old evil of Poverty. But even with the handicap of a seasonal occupation and intermittent idleness, it might still have maintained its integrity, have raised one or two children to become useful, militant soldiers in the revolution, if it had not been crushed beneath the weight of rearing too many children.

Thousands of volumes have been written setting forth the rights of the children. We think it is high time somebody began to speak of the rights of the parents. Men and women are human beings too. Somebody has suffered to bring them into the world. Some one has struggled to feed and clothe and raise them to man and womanhood. There is ample work for each and every working-man and woman to do to support themselves and to continue the work of Socialism. We do not think it a work of social expediency or of social efficiency to produce children in large numbers when we have no assurance of what their future might be.

Is it not time that we decided to cherish the revolutionary material we have ready to hand today in men and women rather than to sacrifice it to the production of uncertain material in the future?

Let us have fewer children, healthful children, children who shall at least start in life free from disease and with a gambling chance to grow up into strong and intelligent men and women.

Society in America guarantees absolutely nothing whatsoever to the children of the working class. To the children of the rich it is true we make iron-clad guarantee. We point with pride (?) to the army and navy, the police, the laws and the courts by way of assuring rich men and women that their property shall be protected and preserved for the benefit of their children. The children of the parents who work are promised neither food, clothing nor shelter. They are not even promised jobs and a chance to **earn** a living. Their parents are not even guaranteed steady work to enable them

to earn money for food, for clothing and for homes.

Almost every social institution aids in the guarantee of property rights to the rich. Nothing is offered to would-be parents in the working class.

And what becomes of the children of those who possess no property and are therefore forced to labor in order to live?

A large percentage of them die in infancy through lack of hygienic surroundings, through lack of proper nourishment, fresh air and healthful homes, because of lack of proper care or medical attention. Many struggle downward to man and womanhood, diseased, anemic, crippled, uneducated because of poverty.

And what do these children become? Many thousands in America are annually forced into crime through lack of employment. Still others are forced into the army, navy or into the police force. Hundreds of thousands of girls are forced into the ranks of prostitution every year. From whence come the recruits for the underworld? Do we find the wayward sons of the Astors or the Goulds or the Vanderbilts climbing porches or picking pockets to get enough money to buy food? Do we find them selling their bodies on the streets or becoming food for cannon in the army? Everybody knows that we do not. They don't have to climb porches for money, or join the army in order to secure food. The law permits them to withhold a portion of the value which people who work for them produce; the police and the army stand ready to help defeat the children of the working class who dare to demand higher wages, a larger portion of the wealth they have created.

The press, the pulpit, the laws, the army and navy, the courts and the colleges stand as a unit in maintaining the privileges of the **owning** class, for the children of the property owners. They stand as a protecting barricade about the wealth of the rich, against the appeals and claims of the toilers of the earth.

What does the United States government offer to the young married people who are bringing children into the world? Evidently it believes that the bearing and rearing of children are a social blessing for it has littered the

statutes with laws declaring it to be illegal for a man or a woman to impart knowledge that shall teach parents how to avoid having children.

It seeks to make unrestricted child-bearing a necessity but it offers as a reward only the heaviest possible handicap to the poor who are unable to escape this necessity. It commands you to multiply and yet it drives the men and women who are out of work from one city to another in a mad desire to evade the burden of their support.

"More children!" it cries while it permits whole families to perish from sheer wanton starvation. "More children!" it urges when hundreds of thousands of men and women face the coming of the winter nights without a place to sleep.

Any reputable physician could tell you how to avoid having children. Nearly all physicians, of any standing among the medical profession, do so advise their rich clients. This advice is ready to hand for those who have the money to purchase it. Society has taken care to provide a way for the rich to avoid the pain and trouble of child-bearing. Yet it is the rich alone who are in a position today to surround their children with healthful surroundings. It is the rich only who can protect the human young against all the diseases and disasters that are the heritage of the children of the poor.

It is time we refused to feed, clothe, house the world and **populate** it too. It is time we refused to bear the impossible handicap of more children than we can feed. It is about time we took stock of ourselves and declined to produce diseased children. In other words, it would be a mighty good idea for us all to take a day off and do a little **thinking**.

Let us set our faces against this utterly planless system of forcing helpless babies into an unfriendly world, and burdens upon the backs of the overburdened working class. Now is the time to force the light of publicity upon this question. It must be discussed. We must have healthy parents, healthy babies and healthful surroundings for all.

Discussion and publicity and the interest of the working class is all we need. It is up to you and me to bring these questions to their attention.

Cogs In the German State Machine

BY EMIL BECKMEYER

SOME Germans insist that Germany is the best regulated nation in the world. It was only after I had spent many years in the countries outside her borders that I discovered that she was, perhaps the MOST regulated land on the globe.

To those of us who are raised within her territory, Governmental regulations are doubtless less irksome than they are to peoples of other nations who encounter them only after they have grown accustomed to a degree of individual initiative and liberty unknown in the fatherland.

To begin with, no Western country has nearly so many class distinctions as Germany. Everybody who IS anybody in Germany has a handle to his name. Only the manual laborer is deprived of a title of some kind. And the label he bears, or the labels the German wives and mothers bear, are a regular ballyhoo or verbal poster of their standing in the community. Any man can tell just where to place them as soon as he learns how people address them.

The German laws require that every traveler who enters a hotel or a lodging house shall give his home address, his name, and standing as well as his occupation.

Wives lay full claim to the titles of their husbands and Mrs. "Upper Director of the X" is infinitely above Mrs. "Second Director of the X." In every country we find distinctions in the army, navy and in the civil service. But in Germany a wealthy factory owner may be known as a "royal, privy, commercial, councillor or appliance, factory proprietor."

But nobody in all Germany ranks so high as the army officer. He occupies the first social position in the Empire. From their babyhood, ambitious fathers and mothers scrimp and save in order to marry off their daughters when they are of age to army officers. It is the highest point of distinction to which they may hope to attain in Germany. But it requires a good sized dowry to capture such a prize in the matrimonial market. Parents will pay off any number of debts of an army officer to enable their daughter to win him.

The people of Germany are mere cogs in the German State Machine. Their lives

are laid out for them by the Government to an extent not dreamed of in any other country.

Education is compulsory between the ages of six and fourteen. Most children are sent to kindergartens at the age of four. If they are not in school at six, the Government demands to know the reason why. At first the study hours are divided with eleven for German, four for arithmetic, one for singing and four for religion. Later six hours are spent in science and five in religion and four hours for mathematics. Without any doubt Germany possesses the finest technical schools in the world.

Every German is brought up and educated for a specific work in life that is chosen for him. He has no choice in the matter and all things are subsidized and diverted to attain that end. Nobody rises from chimney sweep or office boy to head of an establishment. Each child has a career of some kind chosen for him and when he is a man he is fitted for no other. There is no "working up" as there is in America. To get there one must have been prepared for, all through the early period of one's life.

I fancy German state discipline would prove most onerous to the people in America, particularly to the working class, so many of whose activities are so restricted in Germany as to leave them no choice in regard to either their work, their homes or the disposal of their lives.

The German government has its eye on you literally from the cradle to the grave. They have records of your birth, of your days spent in school, of what you are being fitted to become, of where and for whom and at what price, you have worked. Whether you are married or single. Whether you have paid all your bills, your landlord, etc., etc.

No domestic servant can get any kind of a position except through the police. Each and all are required to make formal application at the office of certain municipal officials. She must possess a little book which sets forth her name, where she was born, her age and a description of the individual as to color of hair, eyes, stature, and other

physical qualifications. Also this little book must tell when the person first went out to work with name and residence of employer, amount of wage, with the reason for leaving each household written by the mistress thereof—every statement authenticated by the police and the official stamp.

When a maid servant is hired the mistress must register the fact with the term of employment. The book is then taken to the police and the new employment written in it. On each Monday the mistress must pay a five cent insurance stamp for the future of the servant. It assures her that if she lives to be over seventy years of age, has proved a good, obedient, humble, industrious and satisfactory servant she may hope to receive a pension of from \$3.00 to \$5.00 a month so that she may live in ease and affluence in her old age.

An American traveler who was tramping through Europe with a German workingman was stopped in the fatherland by the police. His companion was requested to produce his little book-of-good-conduct. The official looked it over, referred to his own dictionary-of-working-folks, found the German worker had a good record (from the state and boss's standpoint) and permitted him to pass onward.

You can't change your name (unless you are a woman and marry) and get a new job when you decide to dispense with the oppression of your old employer in Germany; you can't move and elude the watchful eye of the German landlord by moving into the next county because you have to have an authenticated record of your whole past to show at the border, and to your next landlord and your next employer. If you are out of work for six months and try to run away from your debts, you find the German government greeting you face to face no matter where you go in the fatherland, with its everlasting record of your treachery to blast your future until the bills have been paid.

In Germany you dare not water your flowers except before four or five o'clock in the morning. Bedding may not be aired from front windows; bathing at night is prohibited, singing, whistling and shouting in the streets is forbidden. No humble walker is allowed to obstruct an automobile or a vehicle. You may play a piano only within restricted periods. You may not get a job, hire a servant, take a cab, or a street car or even change your address without

the advice and permission and instructions of the police. The police tell you which car and cab you may take and where you may dwell.

Obviously the working class cannot be taxed for war measures in any country no matter what all the foolish economists and reformers may say on this subject. The workers produce the war machines, feed the armies (by the fruits of their labor) and give their lives in war time. But they DO NOT pay the money taxes of war. Anybody who understands Marx knows this.

All the working class receives in any country is a bare living. If high war taxes are piled upon the backs of the workers (who are receiving only enough to live on) it is plain to be seen that the only way they can pay this tax is by getting higher wages from their employers. So that socialists should never be concerned about who is SUPPOSED to pay the war tax. They should only oppose ALL war tax, as they should oppose all war.

And yet doubtless one of the reasons why there is less unemployment in Germany is owing to the militarism of the Kaiser. Perhaps ten per cent of the working population are always occupied in serving time in the army or in feeding, clothing, housing these men and in manufacturing the munitions of war.

German workingmen and women have fewer amusements, less money to spend in pleasure and entertainment and far less leisure than the workers in any other country. It is a common thing for men to be at work at seven in the morning and to remain on the job until eight or nine o'clock at night.

We used to boast over our thrifty ways in Germany. We could make a mark go farther than almost any other people on earth; we could get more nourishment out of a pfennig than our neighbors over the borders. And so we worked long hours and reduced the cost of living until we were able to work for wages that would enable the German capitalist class to compete with capitalists all over the world.

With its iron rule and its ever watchful eye, the Government has established compulsory savings banks. Married men are compelled to deposit five per cent of their wages and unmarried ones ten per cent, until they have saved the sum of \$500. The

government pays 6 per cent on these deposits. The worker may not withdraw this \$500 unless he is paying that sum on purchasing a home or furnishing one.

And all these meddling or guiding fingers of the government tend to make of the German a model workingman, industrious, saving, economical, faithful, obedient. Perhaps when we consider how bound about he is with restrictions, with discipline, with

precedents, when we consider how supervised, superintended he is, how he is subsidized to the day of his death to the German State Machine, the wonder is that we have had any spirit of revolt in Germany at all.

Perhaps we should ask not "why has the German socialist done so little?" but "how has he been able to accomplish ANYTHING at all?"

The Land, the Machine and the Worker

By D. LOPEZ

ANY years ago the process of farming was one that required real, hard, back-breaking toil. Then the horse was found useful; soon men began making small implements and finally the large machines gradually but surely began to take the place of men and simple tools, until at last one machine run by two men will produce the results of fifty working in the old way.

But we workers still find ourselves in a worse condition than we were in those old days when every man worked for himself and not for someone else. He realized that after a few years of toil he would have a home of his own, but the worker of today—does he have any hope of a home, a little home to call his own; and any future prospects? No; the man who works on the farm today is shifted about from pillar to post, when working; his home consists of a barn and a heap of hay, and when the season is over he is shifted back to the city. Then he may be able to sleep in a chair in a saloon, when he is broke. His "family"? No, he can't afford to marry. What would a man do with a wife and family out in the wheat fields during the harvesting seasons?

In some of these places the men are paid from four to ten dollars a day, but what do they have left when their board is paid and the season is over? Where are they to go? Many large pieces of land are owned and controlled by private concerns, and as much as 10,000 acres planted with apple and peach trees alone. We know that it would be impossible for the owner to consume all of the fruit. The only logical reason for own-

ing the land is profits; profit made off the labor and right over the head of the worker who produced it and should have the benefit instead of a paltry pittance while working and no place to lay his head the rest of the year.

How many little homes could be made of 10,000 acres of land! How many happy families could have plenty under such a condition! If they only had an acre apiece it would mean 10,000 less starving on the bread line.

We hear a great deal about our beautiful farming countries, the wealth of the land, of its great prosperity and wonderful possibilities, but this does not mean the workers; it means prosperity for the owning class, who have all, and less for the workers who produce all and have nothing.

Instead of boasting of its prosperity and wealth, the nations far and wide should be ashamed of the poverty and conditions of the workers.

Poverty is not a necessary evil. There is plenty in the world for all. It is true that America is a wonderful country, but what good is there in tearing up Mother Earth and reaping from her soil a wealth of product if it is not used for the benefit of mankind instead of being stored away for profits?

I am merely voicing the sentiments of thousands of workers. The knowledge of these facts is running like wildfire through the brains of the proletariat.

The workers are beginning to see that the owning or capitalist class is grinding them down into an abyss of poverty, misery and wretchedness and that unless they join their comrades in a fight for emancipation there is no hope for them.

EDITORIAL

The Russian Peril.—Even some of those who see in Prussian militarism a great obstacle to peace, have a lingering dread of a Russian Peril to freedom and democracy in case the German war machine is crushed. And in support of their fears they point to the fact that the Czar and his bureaucrats rule unhindered today over nearly two hundred million Russians. Marx's economic determinism teaches us that these fears are groundless. There is a clear economic reason for the supremacy of the Czar. The *mode of production* by which nine-tenths of the Russians live today is that under which their ancestors lived two hundred years ago. Each farm village supplies its simple wants with simple tools in the simple fashion of the middle ages. Of the outside world the Russian peasant knows only what he is told by the officials and the priests of the czar. Small wonder that he obeys the czar unquestioningly. In the Russian cities it is different. The wage-workers in the budding machine industry are sturdy and fearless rebels, who are controlled with increasing difficulty. But as yet their numbers are few. For this fact there is a definite historical reason. Russia is shut off from the world market by rival nations. Her Baltic ports are frozen nearly half the year. Her Black Sea ports can be made useless at any moment by the Turkish guns at Constantinople. The Russians had practically conquered the Turks in 1878, and had made a treaty providing for the free use of the straits, but threats of the other European nations, especially England and Austria, resulted in the Treaty of Berlin, which left the straits under Turkish control. A Russian victory today will doubtless mean a free outlet for Russian trade through the Black sea and the Dardanelles. And this in turn will mean the swift development of Russia into an industrial, capitalist nation like the United States.

Give the Russian Wage-worker a

Chance. For the last thirty years he has been the most heroic figure on the map of the world. Now, unless we are greatly mistaken, the most important effect of the Great War will be to bring him into his own. Russian industry can not stand still. With all its vast area, European Russia is becoming over-crowded; its peasants are hard put to it to make a living from the land by medieval methods; modern methods will come with a rush when the smoke of battle clears away. And once they start, good-night for Czarism. The Russian wage-workers love liberty enough to die for it. Thus far their struggles have been fruitless because they themselves were so few in number as to be easily crushed by the multitude of the czar's ignorant dupes. But modern machines can not be run by idiots. Economic necessity will quickly force the bureaucrats of Russia to educate and train an industrial proletariat, which will surely prove the greatest revolutionary force of the near future.

Too Much Discipline. We all run to extremes except a few mild philosophers who see too many truths at once to be able to argue powerfully for any one of them. The Germans, as Julius Caesar knew them, cared a great deal more for liberty than for discipline. This attitude they maintained steadfastly for hundreds of years, during which they developed magnificent qualities in nearly every field of endeavor except war, where they suffered century after century at the hands of nations more disciplined than themselves. Finally Prussia, an almost absolute military monarchy, conquered one little German state after another, and finally through the Austrian war of 1866 and the French war of 1871 made its king the kaiser of the German Empire. Since then discipline has been the watchword of the Germans. To it they have sacrificed nearly all the individual freedom they ever had. On the surface, the results obtained seem dazzling to many

minds. The average man is thereby relieved of the need of thinking; he obeys his superior unquestioningly, and the superior is held responsible for results by some man higher up. At the top of the pyramid stands the kaiser, "und Gott." It is the absolutism of the dark ages carried over into the twentieth century. It has produced a war machine almost but we trust not quite strong enough to conquer the world. But in so doing it has made the army officer supreme over the enlisted man and the wage-worker alike. It is a terrible degeneracy, a reversion to the dominant type of the year 1,000.

Discipline and the Revolution. Even those who call themselves revolutionists are infected by the discipline germ, both

in Germany and among those Socialists of other countries who are fascinated by the seeming successes of the German movement. It is easy to follow "leaders;" it is pleasant to be a "leader." At first leaders and followers alike think they are pressing forward toward the Social Revolution. But presently the Party Machine, growing from day to day, becomes to the leaders an end in itself instead of a step toward the revolution. Anxiety for the immediate future of the Socialist Machine hushed the voices of the Socialists in the Reichstag when the issue was peace or war. Discipline held the rest of the German Socialists in line. That is why our enemies are laughing and we—are explaining.



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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The War, the Socialists, and the Future

THE war is now in its third month. We have had time to review the forces which have brought it about. We have had news from all the countries concerned in it. We can now estimate the motives and actions of the various groups. As Socialists and representatives of the working class we are chiefly interested in possible effects on our movement. Everywhere our comrades are asking questions. How will the labor movements of the various countries come out of it? What about the party organizations? And, above all, to what extent is the international movement injured?

Even now we must, of course, be careful not to let our hopes or fears run away with our judgment. The thing to be guarded against in all such discussion is national prejudice or a bent in favor of some particular form of tactics. Already there has appeared in the discussions on this side of the water too much of a tendency to view this greatest event of the century from individual or narrow group points of view. If there was ever a time when it was necessary to look at men and things from the vantage ground of the sweep of history and the struggle of classes and nations round the world, this is such a time.

But, after all necessary reservations are made, we must do our best to arrive at a clear understanding of the situation which now confronts us. First, what of the war and the social theories which we have been busily spreading over the world? Does this great cataclysm prove that we were wrong? In general we

The War and Socialist Theory maintained that the very nature of capitalist production demands commercial and industrial expansion. This, we have held, forced what is called imperialism upon the governments of the great powers. And imperialism, we said,

forces these powers to maintain great armaments. We constantly pointed out that the opposing interests of the great powers, heightened by the maintenance of armaments, threatened the world with a war of unprecedented horror. Then the war came. It was brought about by imperialism. To be specific, it was started at this time because Austria tried to secure control of agricultural regions to the southwest. All the statements from German sources go to prove that Germany entered the struggle because her industry demands wider fields for exploitation. There is absolutely no doubt about the main outlines of this phase of the subject.

Are we, then, forced to revise our theory? On the contrary, this thing that has happened is exactly what we have been prophesying for more than twenty years.

In some quarters the Socialists are said to have failed in this great emergency. Even Socialists have said this. In one sense it is true. The Socialists did not stop the war. But no one had a right to expect them to do so. In all countries the Socialists are in the minority. In all countries except Germany they constitute a rather small minority. To be

The Socialist "Failure" sure, the relation between Socialists and the labor movement places them in a different position from that occupied by the Quakers and the ordinary pacivists. The sting in the charge is due to the fact that we are growing and had some hope of doing more than we did. The simple fact is that we achieved rather less than we expected to. But, as a working class comrade put it to me the other day, the one to blame for this are those who have not become Socialists. And now what is there to do about it? The fact that we fell somewhat below expectations merely shows that expectations were too high.

We are like those western cities which are always overestimating their population before the census is taken. They never blame seventy-five thousand people for not being a hundred thousand. We are growing. The war shows us we are not yet ready to beat the forces of capitalism. The only thing to do is to keep on growing till we are. The whole matter is so simple that the wonder is that anyone should get excited over it.

The really sore spot is the part played by the German Socialists. When the time came to vote on the war budget the Socialist group in the Reichstag went wrong. Of the 112 members of the group

80 attended the caucus at which this action was determined upon. A strong minority was opposed to it.

In various reports the size of this minority has been given as 12, as 17, and as 38. I suspect that the smallest of these numbers is nearer the truth than the largest. But Karl Liebknecht belonged to the minority, and Karl Kautsky, who was present, supported him. There is said to have been some very plain speaking on this occasion. The majority decided to support the budget and the group voted as a unit. The address which was made by the Socialist spokesman offered no adequate reason for this action. The world as a whole has taken it as an evidence of treason to Socialist principles.

I wish I had an answer to make to the charge preferred against these German comrades. I have eagerly scanned *Vorwaerts*, *Neue Zeit* and *Socialistische Monatshefte* in the hope of finding one. It is not to be found. The writers in these organs say frankly and with all possible emphasis that it was more important to defend Germany against Russia than to stand for the working class against capitalism. One writer says that the class struggle is suspended for the time being. Another says that Germany is the originator and representative of Socialism and that therefore fighting for Germany is fighting for Socialism. The worst of it all is that these do not even represent themselves as having been forced into this terrible struggle against their French and Russian comrades.

They glory in their march to the front.

What we have to say about this matter, then, must be addressed to German Socialists rather than to the outside world. We must say to them, calmly but quite firmly and clearly, that they have failed us; that for the present they are not acting as Socialists; that essentially the majority of them are not Socialists. I recognize the fact that they were ill-informed and misinformed at the time they made their terrible decision. But this was in part their own fault. They went to the Prime Minister for information and believed what he told them. Of course, this apparent simple-mindedness was not due to any lack of intelligence. These men were simply not enough different from bourgeois people in their ways of thinking to act in accordance with the interests of the working class of the world during this time of tremendous stress. All that we American Socialists can say about this is that we are sorry. But all that the war has done in this quarter is to reveal to us a state of affairs which has existed for some time past. The discovery is perfectly clear. All that we have to do in relation to the things discovered is to guard against their continuation. The encouraging feature of the case is that Germans in this country have exhibited magnificent courage and intelligence in the difficult position in which they have been placed. The editorials in the *Volkszeitung* and the *Arbeiter Zeitung* are clear and strong against the position taken by the Socialist members of the Reichstag.

The Socialists of Austria have acted exactly as did the Germans. But when we turn to other countries we see a different sight. Our French and Belgian comrades opposed the war and still oppose it. But their countries were attacked and they rushed to the defense. From neither a theoretical nor tactical point of view is this action open to adverse criticism. The Italian Socialists and labor unionists have vigorously and effectively opposed the participation of their nation in the great slaughter. The Russians, too, have done nobly. The tiny group in the Douma is always exposed to arrest. Its

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members constantly face death and exile. Under these circumstances their stand on the war was heroic. When the budget was to be voted on they made a simple and dignified declaration of the reasons for their opposition, and withdrew from the chamber. Their deed is among those which will never be forgotten by the working class of the world.

And the position taken by the Socialist parties of England is just as clear and just as fine. The Labor Party has in part been pulled into the current of nationalist sentiment. But the Labor Party never was Socialist and never pretended to be. The Socialists of England are not represented by it. As little are they represented by those curiously erratic English men of letters who have sometimes posed as Socialist leaders. English Socialism speaks through the Independent Labor Party and the British Socialist Party. It speaks through *Justice* and the *Labor Leader*. And it speaks in tones calculated to fire with new

No Treason in England faith and hope the heart of every internationalist. Space forbids many quotations or long ones. But I cannot resist the desire to mention in particular the manifesto of the Independent Labor Party. It is a classic of its kind. It possesses the beauty of form which men can give to their speech only when they think clearly and under the stress of great emotion. After explaining the causes of the war and laying a rightful share of blame on the government of England, this manifesto continues:

"We are told that international Socialism is dead, that all our hopes and ideals are wrecked by the fire and pestilence of European war. It is not true.

"Out of the darkness and the depth we hail our working-class comrades of every land. Across the roar of guns we send sympathy and greeting to the German Socialists. They have labored unceasingly to promote good relations with

Britain, as we have with Germany. They are no enemies of ours, but faithful friends.

"In forcing this appalling crime upon the nations, it is the rulers, the diplomats, the militarists who have sealed their doom. In tears and blood and bitterness the greater Democracy will be born. With steadfast faith we greet the future; our cause is holy and imperishable, and the labor of our hands has not been in vain.

"Long live freedom and fraternity!
Long live International Socialism!"

In all the countries involved except England the labor movement has met the same fate as all other social enterprises. Under the terrific conditions brought on by modern warfare it is impossible to keep even the form of organization. When peace comes the process of rebuilding will be long and hard. This applies, also, to the Socialist parties of several countries. But the representatives of the Independent Labor Party

The Future spoke sober truth when they said the International has not been shattered.

When the next international congress meets it will bear the heaviest burden of duty ever borne by any Socialist body. But it will be equal to its task. The events of the past three months have cleared our vision. Action in the future can be more definite, more certain, than it has been in the past. There may be changes in the form of organization. There may be a shifting of leadership from certain groups to certain others. We may be sure, for example, that the representatives of England, America, Italy, and Russia will have more influence than in the past. Changes, of course, mean manifold difficulties and dangers. But we shall have to guide us all that we have seen with such appalling clearness in the lurid light of recent events.



BOOKS RECEIVED

Reducing the Cost of Living, by Scott Nearing, Ph.D., and **Why the Dollar Is Shrinking**, by Irving Fisher, Professor of Political Economy of Yale University. Published by Macmillan Company, New York. Both \$1.25 net.

It is of great interest to be able to review two volumes on the shrinking dollar at the same time by two such notable professional authorities treated, as are these, in such a diverse way. Dr. Nearing starts at the foundation of economics with the premise that the value of commodities is determined by the necessary social labor contained in them. Prof. Fisher works from the superstructure of finance and monetary systems, declaring (page 5) that "the value of any given amount of wealth is simply its price multiplied by its quantity." Readers of the REVIEW will readily understand what a comfortable theory Dr. Fisher therefore offers to the capitalist class, and what uncomfortable problems he brings to the attention of the real student of economics. Having a true understanding of the value of commodities, Dr. Nearing renders a clear analysis of the causes of rising prices. The commodity gold, he says, has decreased in value owing to new methods of production that require less labor power to produce it. Therefore, since its value has decreased, it exchanges for fewer commodities in those fields where old methods of production still prevail. Dr. Nearing points out that the prices of farm products have risen more than commodities in many other fields and agrees with Marx that in any industry where primitive methods predominate commodities tend to exchange a little BELOW their value, while in industries where the most modern machinery is used, commodities tend to exchange a little ABOVE their value, although the monetary prices of the commodities in these widely separated fields may be what we call "high" and "low." Improved farm production, the utilization of waste land and modern machine methods, Dr. Nearing believes, will reduce both the value and the prices of farm products and food. This is one of the reformistic planks of his economic platform; but he rounds out his very interesting volume by declaring that when the working class receive "what they EARN" the problem of "high prices" will have been solved. A clear, logical, and helpful book, full of valuable statistics and scientific conclusions.

Prof. Fisher, on the other hand, maintains that the price level depends on (1) the QUANTITY of money in circulation; (2) its velocity of circulation and (3) the volume of trade bought by money. For example (pages 39-40) he says "a doubling in the velocity of circulation of money will double the price

level." And an increase in the production of gold (according to his theory) will decrease prices. Nowhere does he get down to fundamentals far enough to present a practical working economic basis. Value is price and price is value, according to him. An increase in commodities decreases their price and their value. He makes no mention of the labor involved or the machine method used in their production. Thus he runs around in futile circles and gets nowhere. But it is impossible for anybody to explain the economics of capitalist society by stumbling about in the superstructure of finance and monetary systems. The further you read in Dr. Fisher's volume the more at sea will you both find yourselves. Avoid *Why the Dollar Is Shrinking* and buy *Reducing the Cost of Living* by Scott Nearing instead.

The Elements of Socialism. By John Spargo and George Louis Arner, Ph. D., Instructor of Economics at Dartmouth College. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50 net.

This joint work of Spargo and Dr. Arner would much better have been done by one or the other of them, since it contains two salient trends of thought wholly incompatible one with the other. Very evidently it is to Dr. Arner that we owe the lucid interpretation of the Marx theory of value, the acceptance of which utterly precludes the possibility of those reformistic tactics elsewhere eulogized in the work. Here we have the amazing spectacle of one author simply and with scientific accuracy setting forth the theories of Marx and another author summing up the achievements of the Socialist parties of the various countries and labeling those "Marxian" which are, perhaps, farthest from the tactics of the great revolutionist.

No man who has assimilated Marx's statement that under capitalist society labor power is merely a commodity bought and sold on the open market, can have any hope in the efficacy of co-operative purchasing societies. He must know that to reduce prices and the cost of living for any considerable portion of the working class must necessarily mean a corresponding slump in the price (or wage) of labor power.

If we wanted to hazard a guess, we would say that we here have Dr. Arner advocating revolutionary Marxian theories and Spargo endorsing reformistic tactics and calling them "Marxian," as he has often done in the past. Taken as a whole, the *Elements of Socialism* would have been a more satisfying piece of work if at least one of the authors, or perhaps both of them, had assimilated Marx's theories laid down therein, and applied them more logically when dealing with practical tactics.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Over 1,500 New Readers—The REVIEW Reds rounded up a good big bunch of new readers to the FIGHTING MAGAZINE during the past 30 days. This does not include the straight yearly subscriptions nor subscriptions received with combination book offers, which run up to nearly another thousand.

Bundle orders are continuing heavy, many locals and comrades sending in orders for second and third bundles and it now looks as if the entire October edition will be sold out before the November number is off the press.

For 15 years the REVIEW has been on the job and it has always stood for Revolutionary Socialism and for the past six years it has uncompromisingly stood for Industrial Unionism. If you stand for what the REVIEW stands for, we want your support on the circulation end. The following list of rebels have "shown" us that they are on the job and we want you to wake up and get busy on your end of the line by getting some new readers for the only working class magazine in this country. Come on and show us what you can do.

During the next 60 days we will continue to send the Review three months to ten wage slaves for \$1.00 and there is not a slave you know of who cannot afford to dig up a dime for three copies of the REVIEW. Show us your Red Streak by sending in a list of at least ten, as this offer will positively be withdrawn at that time.

Johnston, Dinuba, Calif.....	2
Miller, Jerome, Ariz.....	41
Pitman, Courtland, Ariz.....	10
Latshaw, Brinsmade, N. D.....	10
Maurer, N. Yakima, Wash.....	10
Nunes, Denver, Colo.....	10
Allen, Waterloo, Iowa.....	10
Benson, Stroud, Okla.....	19
Davidson, Kansas City, Mo.....	32
Foster, Spokane, Wash.....	23
Uren, Butte, Mont.....	21
Baker, Fulton, Ill.....	11
Sather, Clear Lake, Wis.....	10
Merrill, Tacoma, Wash.....	17
Ambuhl, Spirit Lake, Idaho.....	20
Strasdin, Minneapolis, Minn.....	10
Lavinder, Hansford, W. Va.....	14
Bottorff, Westgate, Calif.....	10
Greenberg, The Dalles, Ore.....	24
Cederquist, Everett, Wash.....	10
Smith, McAlester, Okla.....	10
Goree, Knox City, Texas.....	10
Feinsod, Springfield, Mass.....	10
Curtis, Riverside, Calif.....	10
Moser, Nevis, Minn.....	10
Nussbaum, Bucyrus, Ohio.....	10
Millikin, Lawrence, Mass.....	10
Longerich, Indianapolis, Ind.....	10
Schwartz, Louisville, Ky.....	10
Jackson, Endicott, N. Y.....	10

Beebe, Los Angeles, Calif.....	10
Chapman, Portland, Me.....	10
Hanshaw, San Dimas, Calif.....	21
Oftedahl, Spokane, Wash.....	20
Lietdke, New York, N. Y.....	10
Whitmas, Portland, Ore.....	11
Jespersion, Arlington, Wash.....	14
Landrum, Pacific Grove, Cal.....	12
Martin, Troy, Mont.....	10
Kelber, Ludlow, S. D.....	18
Olson, Seattle, Wash.....	10
Gerber, Webb City, Mo.....	14
Herman, Seattle, Wash.....	10
Malaguti, E. Bridgewater, Mass.....	11
Swartz, McKeesport, Pa.....	10
Marston, Neah Bay, Wash.....	10
Stipeck, Joplin, Mont.....	11
Green, Los Gatos, Calif.....	10
Strohmeier, Aberdeen, S. D.....	10
Hastings, Davenport, Ia.....	22
McNett, Toledo, Ohio.....	10
Kronholm, Bryant, Wash.....	12
Ellis, Whitmore, Calif.....	12
Turano, Reno, Nev.....	3
Farris, Deer Park, Wash.....	18
Petree, Rochester, N. Y.....	11
Mortenson, Rockford, Ill.....	10
Clifford, Northville, Mich.....	10
Logan, Akron, Ohio.....	10
Pearson, Rochester, N. Y.....	10
Long, Pearl, Ill.....	10
Looney, Ennis, Texas.....	10
Rock, New Paris, Ind.....	11
Fisher, Parsons, Kans.....	15
Sentz, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	16
Erickson, Marion, Ohio.....	10
Harris, Eveleth, Minn.....	28
Kajka, Freeport, Ill.....	12
Connery, Kewanee, Ill.....	10
Olson, Twin Falls, Idaho.....	15
May, Springfield, Ill.....	10
Ploeger, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	17
Jones, Longmeadow, Mass.....	10
Tymcio, San Francisco, Calif.....	10
Gentle, Hoboken, N. J.....	10
Sidwell, Midvale, Idaho.....	10
Greenberg, Devils Lake, N. D.....	5
Melville, Pt. Richmond, Calif.....	32
Kidwell, Jackson, Mich.....	19
Sulem, Rialto, Calif.....	19
Harting, Tiger, Wash.....	10
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Larson, San Francisco, Calif.....	6
Mikko, Laurium, Mich.....	3
The Rebel, Hallettsville, Tex.....	4

Johnson, Hamilton, Ohio.....	13
Marler, Hinestone, La.....	10
Thomas, Plymouth, Pa.....	10
Schicher, Burnett, Wash.....	10
Shulz, Foxcroft, Me.....	10
Paxton, Sawtelle, Calif.....	11
Hurd, Simpson, Nev.....	10
McKagney, Wilmington, Del.....	10
McClure, Graford, Tex.....	10
Scheiffer, Marion, Ohio.....	10
Hilleary, Ruby, Alaska.....	10
Trapp, Hemet, Calif.....	10
Sager, Anacortes, Wash.....	15
Keil, Fairbanks, Alaska.....	8
Evers, New York City.....	10
Southard, Jacksonville, Ohio.....	12
Hackleman, Indianapolis, Ind.....	10
Thierry, Roanoke, Va.....	17
Olsen, Boyds, Wash.....	10
Pierce, St. Marys, Ohio.....	10
Uetz, Des Moines, Ia.....	13
Yale, Memphis, Tenn.....	10
Adams, De Queene, Ark.....	10
Brady, Bellingham, Wash.....	11
Wilson, Minneapolis, Minn.....	10
Malaguti, East Bridgewater, Mass.....	10
Mailman, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	8
Hedlund, Nevis, Minn.....	22
Miller, Painesville, Ohio.....	44
Clinton, Cushing, Okla.....	10

Total1,516

From Elk Lake, Canada.—"Enclosed find money order for a bundle of October REVIEWS. September number received and it is just the ammunition we want. Put us down for a regular monthly bundle order of 12 copies to start with.

"Times are very bad up here. Timber companies are paying from eighteen to twenty-six dollars a month in the camps, while the average wage in the mines, which have closed, was \$3.00 a day.—Sec., Local 338, S. D. P. of C."

From Shamokin, Pa.—"We had 40 copies of the September number to sell at three meetings held September 5th, 6th and 7th by Comradé Mrs. Guy H. Lockwood of Kalamazoo, Mich. At the first meeting Comrade Lockwood demonstrated to the comrades how easy it was to sell the REVIEW by selling 33 copies herself. She then called me a Henry Dubb for not ordering 100 instead of 40. She was right."—C. H. C.

Successful Meetings.—Word comes from Canada that Comrade Grace Silver is holding splendid propaganda meetings throughout Ontario. One hundred and twenty-two October REVIEWS were sold at one street meeting in Berlin, which makes 500 REVIEWS the Canadian comrades have sold at her first eleven meetings in Ontario.

Comrade Silver always delivers clean cut, class struggle talks with no reform frills. She expects to work in Canada until December 15, after which time she will go to New England for two weeks, returning through Manitoba and Saskatchewan in January.

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NOTE.—This is a grand opportunity for readers who have a little spare time. Fascinating, profitable home employment. Read Miss King's free book.



A Socialist College.—The Work Peoples' College, located at Smithville, Minnesota, begins its eighth year on October 5th with prospects for an increased enrollment. This college has a unique place in the Socialist movement, being the only institution of its kind owned and managed by Socialists. It has grown rapidly in number of students and in financial strength until its property is valued at \$60,000. There are two large four-story buildings and a gymnasium, large assembly hall, offices for the management and the instructors, library and reading room, with a commodious kitchen and dining room in the basement.

Comrade T. E. Latimer, for the past three years state secretary of Minnesota, has resigned to take charge of the English department.

This year a number of new courses are being added and the prospectus which has just been issued announces courses as follows: Three Courses in English Language; Composition and Rhetoric; Literature; Public Speaking; Economic Theory and Socialism; Modern Labor Movement; Economic History of Europe; Economic History of the United States, and Modern Government and Politics.

The school term is eight months in length, divided into two terms of four months each. The tuition is six dollars per month. Anyone interested in such a school should write to the college for a prospectus.

From Comrade Cline.—We are in receipt of a letter from Comrade Chas. Cline, who is now in the county jail at San Antonio, Tex., and whose case will come up for trial very shortly. Comrade Cline advises us that he is doing some good reading on the inside and asks us to thank our readers and all those who have helped in the Rangel-Cline defense. We hope by the time this is printed that our comrades will be at liberty again.

Pancner Still in the Pen.—John Pancner, who was railroaded to the pen in August, is still behind the stone walls, and the defense committee is on the job raising funds to secure an appeal.

He is a national organizer for the I. W. W., and was convicted by a jury in Tonopah, Nevada, for the crime of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill, and was sentenced to no less than one year or more than 18 months. He was convicted on the flimsiest kind of contradictory testimony.

The facts are that a gang of scabs entered the union hall for the purpose of wrecking it. It was also on their program to beat Pancner up and run him out of town. He protected himself by shooting one scab in the leg. The rest of the gang beat it. For this crime he has been railroaded to the pen.

We trust REVIEW readers will co-operate with the defense committee by sending their spare dimes, quarters and dollars to Comrade Minnie Abbott, Box 876, Tonopah, Nevada, who is treasurer of the Defense committee. It is our duty as revolutionists to stand by every fellow worker who is on the firing line.

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Carl Person Freed.—REVIEW readers will be glad to learn that the attempt of the Illinois Central R. R. to hang Carl Person has failed. The jury, after being out a few hours, returned a verdict of not guilty. His offense consisting of shooting one of the company's thugs in self-defense. He has been indicted on other charges, and the REVIEW will keep its readers posted on the cases as they come up.

Liked Mary Marcy's Article.—"Permit me to thank you for your Comrade Marcy's in the REVIEW, 'Organize With the Unemployed!'. It is the best one that has appeared in the REVIEW for a long time. I read the article by Eugene V. Debs; I cannot agree with such advice. The article I refer to is, 'The Gunmen and the Miners.' My opinion is, that if Mr. Debs had been hunted in the hills of Colorado like a wild animal, he would have another answer to give to his fellow workers. Instead of guns he would have advised solidarity of the working class. If the workers in England, by the power of solidarity, can bring the government down on its knees, there is no reason why the miners in this or any other country could not do the same. Mary Marcy's article will do more good than all the dope the wind peddlers have scooped out in the years gone by. If the Germans had spent their time and energy on educating and organizing themselves in one big revolutionary labor union, they could, today, have had the power to stop the wholesale murder now going on in Europe."—J. Hall, Oregon.

Eden Texas on War.—The following resolution has been passed by the Socialist Local and sent us by Ernest Savage, editor of the *Eden Echo*, a lively Socialist paper published at that point: Resolved, that we, as Socialists, believe the present war in Europe uncalled for and an everlasting detriment to the world, and hereby enter our protest to its continuance and to that end submit the following resolutions:

Resolved, that we are opposed to wars and will ever use our influence to prevent them if possible. That this war is depopulating the countries in which strife is going on of the bone and sinew of the races concerned, many of whom are Socialists and forced to participate through the prevailing powers.

Resolved, that we urge all Socialists in this country to petition those in authority to bring the war to a close without unnecessary delay.

Resolved, that we send a request to President Wilson asking him to place an embargo on all food products for European countries with a view to ending the war by depriving the combatants of sustenance so far as the United States are concerned.—(Signed) G. L. Smith, secretary.

What is the Revolutionists' attitude towards LOVE AND MARRIAGE?

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Can't Get Along Without It.—Comrade Jennie McGehe of Ft. Collins, Colorado, writes: "Enclosed find stamps to pay for the last three numbers of the REVIEW. I have been buying it each month at the news stand here, but have been away and unable to obtain them. I can't get along without the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW—the best Socialist magazine published."

Michigan for Solidarity.—The following is the new platform of the S. P. of Michigan. We take pleasure in congratulating the comrades for the working class character of their demands and principles:

We, the Socialist party of the state of Michigan, in convention assembled at Lansing on September 28, 1914, declare our allegiance to the international program of Socialism.

We declare that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machinery and improved methods of industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever proportionately less as the prices of necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owners of the tools of production and distribution. To the rest it means greater hardship and misery. Wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

It is the capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, wars, poverty, slums, child labor, crime, much of the insanity, disease, and all commercialized prostitution.

The working class, which includes all those who work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to force its will. With class solidarity on the economic and political fields, exemplified by one big industrial union and one big political party, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry for their own welfare.

The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers, and all other useful workers to organize for economic and political action and unite with us on the following one-plank platform:

We demand the socialization and democratic management of the means of production and distribution.

Missed the Review.—Comrade Erickson of Ft. Dodge, Iowa, writes: "Please find \$1.00 enclosed for another year, as I found myself so lonesome without the REVIEW I had to dig up."

For Fifteen Years.—"Enclosed find \$1.00 for one year's subscription. We have been subscribers since the first sample copies reached us *fifteen years or so ago* and this is the first time we let it lapse. Yours as ever for the cause.—Anna L. Ogden."

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M. R. STOKES **MOHAWK, FLORIDA**

From David Goldstein.—The following post card was received at this office from David Goldstein, the famous Catholic speaker, against Socialism. "The Communists are reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities. The working men have no country." (From the Communist Manifesto.) And then he adds: "I see the 'comrades' of France and Germany are killing each other. What for?"

Tailors' Industrial Union.—(International.) We are glad to see the announcement that the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America has changed its name to the Tailors' Industrial Union (International) by referendum vote. We have word from the general executive board that this organization, realizing that in isolation lies weakness has decided to admit to membership all workers, male or female, working in all branches of the tailoring industry. The comrades say that the new union does not seek to claim jurisdiction over other unions but means to persistently advocate and work for the amalgamation of the clothing workers' unions into one big, powerful organization. While this work is going on they will admit all who may desire to join such an organization as theirs.

Industrial changes, concentration of industry, overlapping of jurisdiction and organized scabbery has forced the issue which culminated in this effort on the part of the tailors. In the circular sent out they say, "We, the working class, must combine our efforts and forces in one organization. We must have a fighting organization. We ask that you demand our label everywhere. Organize a branch of our international union in your community." The new union is affiliated with the A. F. of L. Judging from the splendid work these comrades have been doing in the past few years, we believe they are destined to big things. The name of comrade E. J. Brais as general secretary at the end of this announcement will still further inspire confidence among the tailoring industry.

Free Speech Victory.—The Socialists of Lincoln, Neb., and Comrade Charles Devlin, known as the one-legged globe cyclist from Waco, Texas, have won a big free speech victory against the reactionary politicians in Lincoln. Dare Devil started on his tour around the world on foot two years ago and is now on the last lap of his journey. Comrade Devlin has been arrested several times at different places for speaking on street corners. The Lincoln Socialists declared they would make a test case of the Devlin case and would back him up in any fight until the streets were open to Socialist speakers. Devlin's meeting was broken up by the police and he was arrested on a charge of blockading the streets. Five citizens swore the streets were not blocked and five policemen swore they were blocked, so the judge gave Devlin a \$1.00 fine and costs. The Socialists appealed the case. Then a great mass meeting was held demanding the right to hold meetings and the city politicians found they were becoming most unpopular. The Commissioners decided to permit any Socialist or I. W. W.

speakers to speak on the streets thereafter. They even went so far as to tell them they could speak from the steps of the City Hall. We congratulate the boys in Lincoln. They called the bluff and now have the privilege of educating the workers from every corner in the city.

Statement of the Ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the act of August 24, 1912, of The International Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1, 1914. Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago; managing editor, Mary E. Marcy, 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago; business manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago; publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, Incorporated, 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago. Owners: (If a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not a corporation, give names and addresses of individual owners.) Charles H. Kerr. (All others own less than 1 per cent each.) Known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.

CHARLES H. KERR, Editor.

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(Seal) Michael J. O'Malley, Notary Public.
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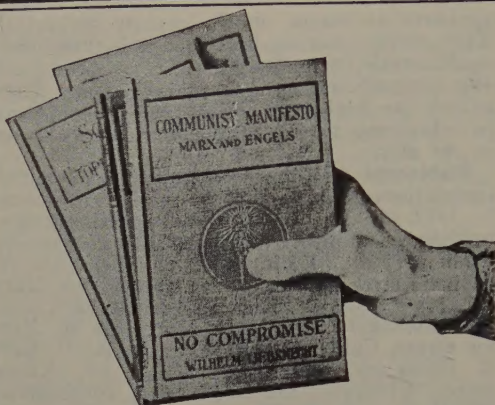
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